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Plantation and Frontier Documents: 1649-1863

Illustrative of Industrial History in the Colonial & Ante-Bellum South

Collected from MSS. and other rare sources and edited by

Ulrich B. Phillips, Ph. D.
Professor of History and Political Science, Tulane University of Louisiana

Volume I

Separate publication of Volumes I and II of Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Cleveland, Ohio
The Arthur H. Clark Company
1909

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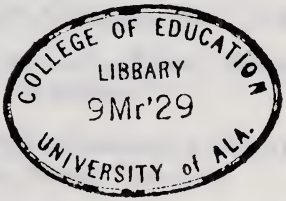

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PREFACE

To the thoughtful man the genesis of a great undertaking has an interest of its own apart from the final result. It is but natural, therefore, to suppose that those interested in the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* should wish to know something of the causes that led to the organization of the American Bureau of Industrial Research and of the purposes in view in the work prepared under its auspices.

In 1886, I published a book *The Labor Movement in America*, as the first step to a more exhaustive study of industrial society. In the preface to that book I said, "I do not claim to have written a history of the labor movement in America. I offer this book merely as a sketch which will, I trust, some day be followed by a book worthy of the title *History of Labor in the New World*." I thought then, that within a few years at most, I should be able to accomplish my purpose, but the undertaking was greater than I anticipated, and as often as I attempted to begin the work, I was deterred by the difficulties to be overcome.

In the first place there was not sufficient collection of material for such a work as I proposed to myself, and the material that might exist was scattered throughout the country in public and private libraries, much of it inaccessible. In no country has the value of economic records been sufficiently appreciated; but in America least of all has their bearing on national history been understood.

Something had already been done in France in collecting and editing the records of the guilds of the Middle Ages. In 1837 under the patronage of the king, and the direction of the minister of public instruction, M. Depping was enabled to reprint *Les Registres des Métiers et Marchandises de la Ville de Paris*, begun in the thirteenth century by Etienne Boileau in the reign of Louis IX. Boileau's learned editor in 1837, in including this single volume in the magnificent *Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, apologetically observes that though it is but the records of primitive associations of artisans, yet it deserves a place in a series designed to illuminate the civil and political history of France.

The movement towards the preservation and publication of economic records had also a small beginning in other countries, although documents of economic history have not been the main object of any single large undertaking, but have worked their way to the attention of societies and governmental authorities interested originally in the genealogical, political, literary, ecclesiastical, and legal muniments of their nation's history. Such, for example, have been the Camden and Selden Societies of Great Britain, and the numerous local and county societies such as the Surtees Society for the Northern Counties, the Chatham Society for Lancaster and Chester, the Oxford Historical Society, and others.

But in America when I began preparations for my book, there was nothing of the kind to fall back upon, and I had to make my own collection, which in time included many books, newspapers, scrap-books, and pamphlets indispensable for the interpretation of our labor history. The value of fugitive pamphlets, reports, manifestos, advertisements, and newspaper arti-

cles as material for the understanding and interpretation of social conditions and movements was then so little appreciated that I met with scant encouragement. I well remember that once a friend and colleague, looking at the stacks of newspapers in my office at the Johns Hopkins University, said to me: "Ely, what you need is a good fire to rid you of all this rubbish." Extensive as was my collection, it was altogether inadequate for the larger work I had in mind, and the mere labor and expense of collecting, to say nothing of the task of organizing and writing, were beyond my own resources.

I decided, finally, that a work of the scope I had planned was beyond the power of one man to accomplish, and I set myself, therefore, to secure by the cooperation of many what could not be accomplished by one. By letters and personal interviews with prominent men throughout the country, I strove to secure the organization of a society for industrial research, with a fund sufficient to cover the expense of investigation. After various fruitless efforts, Mr. Robert Hunter of New York, who was interested in my plan, introduced me to Mr. V. Everit Macy, also of New York. Mr. Macy made the initial contribution to our contemplated society, and generous contributions were made also by Mr. Robert Fulton Cutting and Mr. Justice Henry Dugro of New York, Mr. Stanley McCormick of Chicago, Captain Ellison Smyth of Greenville, S.C., and others. By these contributions our success was assured, and in March, 1904, the American Bureau of Industrial Research was organized for the purpose of preparing a full and complete history of American industrial society. Mr. V. Everit Macy was elected treasurer, an advisory committee was appointed, consisting of Professor John B. Clark of Columbia University and

Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *American Review of Reviews*, and the direction of the work was entrusted to Professor John R. Commons and myself. Professor Commons had been a student of mine at Johns Hopkins University, attracted there by my *Labor Movement in America*. He had become a specialist in labor subjects, and at the time of our organization was connected with the National Civic Federation. He was interested in the new enterprise and promised his coöperation and was therefore associated with me in the direction of the work. We secured also, as collaborators, the services of Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips, Dr. Helen L. Sumner, and Dr. John B. Andrews, and we had the assistance of Professor Eugene A. Gilmore of the University of Wisconsin, the special work of each being indicated in the title of these volumes.

On consideration it was decided to continue the work of collection already begun on the larger and more extended scale which the possession of our fund made possible, and the first year of our activity as an organization was devoted to preliminary preparation, our efforts being confined chiefly to locating material. Visits were paid to many of the large libraries of the country, to the headquarters of national labor union organizations, and to many employers' associations. Correspondence was also begun with libraries everywhere, asking for the names of all labor papers or papers sympathetic to labor in their possession. A list of nearly two hundred newspapers of this description known to have existed were sent to over five hundred libraries with the request that those might be checked which were in their files. In this way it was possible to locate all the important newspaper sources of labor history now accessible.

While Professor Commons and his force were thus engaged in a preliminary survey of the field, I visited the most important centers, Chicago, Boston, Richmond, Washington, and New York, conferring with men who were interested in our work, securing contributions, and examining source material. I also visited the Mesaba iron range, and investigated labor conditions in that important industry. As a result of the interest thus aroused we afterwards received a number of valuable collections of papers and documents bearing on labor and labor movements.

The next step was to secure as much as possible of the material thus located. Personal visits were made to the libraries of Indianapolis, Cincinnati, New York, Providence, Boston, Lynn, Lowell, Worcester, Detroit, St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, Pittsburg, and other places. Wherever possible, the desired material was secured, and where it could not be obtained, transcripts were made of the more important documents and newspaper articles. This work for the East and West was under the direction of Professor Commons, ably assisted by Dr. Helen L. Sumner and Dr. John B. Andrews. Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips undertook the investigation of the scarcely touched southern field, visiting personally the libraries of Richmond, Charleston, Columbia, Atlanta, Savannah, Louisville, Nashville, New Orleans, and other minor points. This field survey revealed an unexpected and surprising wealth of sources in the form of newspapers published in the interest of early labor movements in America, manuscripts, and pamphlet material, but the difficulties to be overcome were disheartening. Some of the newspapers had never, so far as the librarians in charge were aware, been consulted before, and in one case an important file of a daily

paper published by the trade unions of New York during sixteen months in 1834-1835 could not at the time be examined because it lay under the accumulations of fifty years. In some libraries labor journals were discovered whose existence had been forgotten, although they gave information which was absolutely indispensable to any understanding of the labor history of that important period from 1830 to 1850. In different libraries a large number of priceless pamphlets were discovered which were not classified under any subject, but are to be found by looking up such catch words as Report, Remark, Circular, Address, etc. Words like these were magic incantations that brought to light treasures not to be otherwise discovered. Numbers of pamphlets were published between 1827 and 1837 of which only a single copy is known to be preserved, and of others that were circulated by thousands not a single copy remains. Of the sixty or more papers that were distinctly on the labor side during this same period, files of not more than fifteen can be located, and it is probable that not a single file of the true labor papers is complete. Nearly every city and almost every trade organization of national scope had its labor paper, convention proceedings were published in pamphlet form, constitutions and by-laws ran through several editions, and yet, except for a few scattering copies they seem to have disappeared from the earth. Days and nights of fruitless search have led to nothing but disappointment, though now and again the heart has been gladdened by real "finds". Every possible place was ransacked and some apparently impossible ones, old book shops and dusty attics. Auction lists were scanned, plantation records, family correspondence, diaries, commission reports, census tables, tax digests, deed books, probate re-

turns, everything has yielded its treasures to these research workers.

Among the rarer and more important labor papers secured by the Bureau are: a volume of the *Man*, New York, 1834, the *Workingman's Advocate*, Chicago, 1864-1876, Fincher's *Trades Review*, Philadelphia, 1863-1866, and *Le Socialiste*, New York, 1871-1873. A most valuable file of the earliest German labor paper, *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, edited by William Weitling, 1850-1855, was presented by the Deutsche Freie Gemeinde of Philadelphia, also a file of *The Practical Christian*, edited by Adin Ballou, 1840-1860, presented by his daughter Mrs. Abbie Ballou Heywood. The Bureau has also secured files of the Yiddish newspapers beginning with 1886 and convention proceedings of Yiddish labor Unions and socialistic groups which reveal most clearly the history of the Yiddish movement in America.

Of perhaps even greater importance is the pamphlet collection. The first step in collecting this material was to make a list of all the pamphlets referred to in newspapers of the times. This list grew from three hundred names to nearly two thousand. Most of these pamphlets were of a fugitive character, dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, or, as in the case of the *Rules of Work of the Masons of the Town of Boston* to the latter part of the eighteenth century. This collection includes constitutions of local trades unions, reports of local and state conventions, platforms of labor unions and workingmen's political parties, reports of the proceedings of national trades union conventions, constitutions and by-laws of national trades unions, judicial decisions in county and state courts, travellers' notes regarding important strikes, pronunciamentos of associa-

tions of employers and workingmen at the time of important strikes. Under this head may also be noted a collection of editorials, advertisements bearing on the labor situation, such as calls for meetings and conventions, announcements of scales of wages, runaway apprentices, and communistic and socialistic movements.

Another department of the collection is that of transcripts. Many of the papers and documents unearthed, the Bureau could neither borrow nor purchase. In all such cases a competent corps of copyists made transcripts of whatever was deemed valuable and these transcriptions are the very cream of the literature upon industrial society in all the libraries of the country outside of the Madison libraries. They have been classified just as the papers, documents, and pamphlets have been, and afford a third rich source of information.

A fourth important department is represented by the collection of accounts of labor conspiracy trials prior to the Massachusetts case of Commonwealth *vs* Hunt in 1842. Starting out with the list of eleven cases named in the *Sixteenth Annual Report* of the United States Bureau of Labor, six new cases were later discovered, and of these more or less complete records were obtained, most of them in the form of stenographic accounts.

It is perhaps true that the wealth of economic and social documents derived from the life of a European nation far exceeds anything that can be discovered in America. M. Gustave Fagniez has brought together, in two small volumes, documents relating to the commerce and industry of France, beginning with extracts from the writings of Caesar, Strabo, and Diodorus.[1]

[1] Fagniez, Gustave. *Documents relatifs a l'histoire de l' industrie et du commerce en France* (Paris, 1898 and 1900).

And to this long stretch of time is added the multitude of institutions whose daily dealings have left their records. It requires four thousand, five hundred and twenty-two titles for M. Stein to recite the published and unpublished French cartularies, those important files of bills, receipts, privileges, immunities, exemptions, and other business records of the church in France.[2] And when to this is added the immense field of the merchant and craft guilds of the Middle Ages, with their wealth of documents published by individuals, societies, and governments throughout western Europe, the one isolated charter of the shoemakers' company conferred by the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1648 stands out a precious and curious instrument.[3]

At the same time, while America is lacking in the peculiar resources that flow from long antiquity and manifold forms of organization, yet we have our own peculiar institutions that will eventually yield a rich store of records for their interpretation.

In addition to the collection of American material, the Bureau has acquired, largely through the liberality of Mr. William English Walling, a very valuable library of German socialistic literature. It contains some works said not to be found even in the party archives of the German social democracy in Berlin, among other things the now rare first works editions of early works of Marx and Engels. It contains not only most of the pamphlets printed in the sixties and seventies previous to the exclusion law against social democracy (1878), but many of the leaflets and pamphlets

[2] Stein, Henri. *Bibliographie générale des Cartulaires Francäis ou relatifs a l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1907).

[3] *Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. iii, 132.

that were secretly circulated after that law made literature of the sort illegal. There are almost complete proceedings of all the socialist congresses of the German, Austrian, and Swiss socialistic parties so far as these have been published in separate form. The principal organs of the German central democracy, and those of the socialist party which are printed in foreign countries and secretely circulated in Germany, likewise form a part of the collection and there are various files of the socialistic labor papers published later in Berlin. Of great significance for scientific research is the complete series of political reviews and monthlies published by socialists in the German language. There is also much material for the history of the German labor movement in America, with nearly all the newspapers which the German-American laborers published from 1846 to 1875 in support of their struggles and interests and for the dissemination of their ideas.

Along with the collecting was carried on the equally arduous and important work of classifying and cataloguing. For this a large staff of stenographers, clerks, and copyists was necessary. A card catalogue has been made of all books, manuscripts, and pamphlets dealing with labor conditions and labor movements from 1815 to 1875, and a second card catalogue for those from 1875 to the present. Another card catalogue has been made of all labor papers and papers sympathetic or actively hostile to labor in the country, so far as known. This information has been classified in two ways, first under the name of the paper and second under the name of the library where the paper is to be found. Another card catalogue lists all the material to be found in Madison, and finally a card catalogue has been made of

all articles transcribed from documents or newspapers in other libraries with a notation where they are to be found. Longer articles are arranged under subject headings and in some cases where there is a large amount of material, there is a further division by years.

As the scope and value of the material thus gathered together became more and more evident, the suggestion was made by Professor Commons that the most important documents be printed for the benefit of scholars to whom the collection itself was not accessible. The wisdom of the suggestion was apparent and preparations were begun to select such material as might be most significant for the study of industrial society. Such a publication would be part of the general movement throughout western civilization which is diverting the interest of students and historians from wars, politics, and various forms of government to the economic life of the people. Contemporary with the organization of the Bureau was the action of the French Parliament, November, 1903, which created a commission for the publication of documents of the economic history of the French Revolution. This commission of forty-six senators, deputies, government officials, professors, and archivists, under the presidency of M. Jaurés, is now publishing a series of some sixty volumes, covering such matters as the proceedings of committees on agriculture and commerce, the abolition of feudal rights, the depreciation of paper money, and so on throughout the entire field of labor and industry during that tragic period.[4] This is the largest venture of its kind, and may well draw upon the resources of a great nation for its fulfilment. Yet its value can not be overestimated when

[4] *Revue politique et parlementaire* (May 10, 1909), 331.

judged by the standards that guide modern historians as they turn to the movements of the masses of the people for explanations of the events of history.

It will not be necessary to mention the work now being pursued in Germany, Austria, Belgium, and other countries of Europe in order to enforce recognition of the modern trend of historical interest. The change has come about so gradually that its magnitude is not wholly apparent. The contrast stands out, however, when we go back one hundred fifty years and compare the view of the greatest of historians of the eighteenth century, if not the greatest of all centuries, Edward Gibbon, with the views of historians who today seek the underlying conditions of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. To Gibbon the principal subjects of history were "wars and the administration of public affairs." Attention was "solely confined to a court, a capital, a regular army, and the districts which happen to be the occasional scene of military operations." Consequently, "millions of obedient subjects pursue their useful occupations in peace and obscurity." [5]

To the historian of today it is the very peace and obscurity of these industrious millions that furnish the object of diligent search. The vulgar but precious documents they unearth and edit are the tax receipts, the bills of exchange, the leases, wills, and other every-day records of the life and living of the people, written perhaps on papyri and preserved by their fortunate use as covers for their mummies. Eventually, out of this patient search, with a new wealth of economic material, a new Gibbon may picture to us the work and industry that sustained the masses while they suffered beneath

[5] Gibbon, Edward. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Bury), vol. i, 236.

the wars and politics so graphically portrayed by the elder Gibbon.[6]

American historians have also begun to turn their attention to these fundamental subjects, as is evidenced by a report of the committee on the Documentary Publications of the United States Government. That committee of leading historians, after observing that the United States has been primarily a peaceful nation and that its contributions to history lie in the field of industrial and social development quite as much as in that of political institutions, and much more than in the field of war or foreign relations, "proceeds to recommend as its ideal" an extensive publication by government of documents dealing with agriculture, labor, industry, and commerce. It is fortunate that, failing the slow and doubtful recognition by government of this appeal from historians the generous contributors to the American Bureau of Industrial Research have made it possible to place the present collection of documents at the disposal both of them and the general public. It is hoped that these volumes will do for the social and industrial life of the American people what the publication of colonial records, town, state, and federal records has done for the political, constitutional, and military life of the people.

The search and selection of these records, their assembling and publication, is more than a mere antiquarian pursuit, it is a prerequisite for interpreting the truly urgent and menacing problems of today. To these documents of the past two considerations have served to render a deepening interest. The labor problem in

[6] The best example of the recent attitude of historians in a field where economic and labor investments are most difficult to get at is Julius Belich's *Griechische Geschichte* (Strassburg, 1893-1904), 3 vols.

all its ramifications, whether as a race problem in the South, a trade union problem in the North, or a political problem in both, is demanding increasing attention; and at the same time, the doctrine of evolution, or the natural growth of society, is directing this attention to the historical causes of the problem as the true method of arriving at its full understanding. It is these two considerations that have determined the selection and guided the arrangement of the documents herewith reproduced. "Plantation and Frontier" reveal the economic adjustments of white and black races, whether as slaves and slave-owners, or as freemen, seeking to escape the competition of slavery by westward migration or by protective legislation and trade union barriers. "Labor Conspiracy Cases" furnish us not only with documents showing the evolution of legal doctrine, but also with the most detailed and intimate descriptions given by witnesses and counsel, of the industrial conditions of the time and the awakening consciousness of a wage-earning class. The volumes bearing the title "Labor Movement", reveal the efforts of free labor to meet industrial and political conditions in all their kaleidoscopic changes and ramifications of wages and prices, machinery and free land, factory and farm, prosperity and depression, war and peace, charity and unemployment, protection and immigration, coöperation and socialism, trade unions and political parties.

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University of Wisconsin, August, 1909.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Few persons realize how crowded with the richest historical material has been the brief record of the United States since it achieved its independence. The life of our country has made up in intensity what it has lacked in duration. So far are we from being destitute of materials for history that, in fact, for the time covered by our existence as an independent nation, we possess them in an abundance that is quite unique. Much of this material is as yet unutilized and a use of it is necessary not merely for the completion of the record of our own national life, but for an understanding of that of the world as a whole. It has fallen to America to go quickly through an industrial evolution which has translated it from a simple and primitive state into a very advanced one, and we have reached a point towards which a large part of the world is still moving.

A history of America from an industrial and social point of view will supply something which general history itself has greatly needed. A glance at a few facts will serve to show how rich is the field which the present work is entering and how intense will be the interest attaching to the narrative portion of it. It will also show how invaluable is the mass of documentary material which the authors have rescued from destruction and preserved for future use.

1. This country has had its full share of political struggles, and to these histories have not failed to do justice. The contests of Federalists with Anti-fed-

eralists, those of Whigs with Democrats, and those of Republicans with later Democrats have been fully described. The constitution-making which has gone on in the midst of these contentions has also been described; but economic life lies back of the politics and the growth of the constitution and has given direction to it all; and this has been meagrely treated.

2. This underlying cause of political contest and constitutional change has been active throughout the world, but its action has been rapid and conspicuous in America.

3. The period covered by the history of the American Republic has involved a greater transformation in the practical life of civilized nations than has the entire period of recorded history previous thereto. This is a startling assertion, but the facts will bear it out. In modes of getting and using the means of living, the civilization of Mesopotamia two thousand years before Christ was more like that of Europe in 1776 than was this to present society.

4. Democracy has always developed hand in hand with industry and has been related to it as effect to cause. This relation has been obvious in the United States. As it is easy to see why the colonies had more of the democratic spirit than the mother countries, so it is easy to see why the present states have a more militant type of it than had the colonies. In industry a very undemocratic thing, namely, monopoly, has lately made its appearance; but this has provoked the most intensely democratic movement of modern times, that, namely, which demands a popular control of everything. It is the movement which, in its extreme form, becomes socialism.

5. What is called the philosophy of history has been

vague and speculative; but the record of developing industry gives it substance. Very concrete are the economic facts which the present work records and easily traceable are their connections with positive laws of social and political growth.

These five general facts show that a key to the understanding of American history and of all history is furnished by a knowledge of economic events. This knowledge may be gained in abundant measure by a study of records that exist in the United States. In proportion to the value of such an intelligent understanding of history is the value of the records which the present work embodies and of the narrative that will be based on them.

It is worth while to recur seriatim to these general statements. Concerning the claim that the forces which center in industry are very dominant in the life of America not much argument is necessary. They have, indeed, been dominant everywhere. It is a common criticism that such histories of most countries as have until recently been current have been too largely military and too little institutional. They have given great space to the records of wars and territorial changes and in so far as they have dealt with the internal conditions of the different nations, they have given prominence to the struggles of ruling families for supremacy. Such records are full of dramatic interest and, if the truth be known, are free from a certain dryness from which purely constitutional histories at times suffer. They appeal to an elemental trait in their readers – an interest in struggles of any kind – as minute descriptions of a political constitution and the administrative processes that have developed under it seldom do. Moreover such a record of struggles, national and international,

really shows how countries have assumed their geographical shapes and dimensions and how they have come into closer and closer connection with each other. These connections already suggest the coming federation of the world. The once dim outlines of a world state are now appearing more clearly in the midst of international rivalries and occasional struggles. Wars have had a legitimate place in history; but if the world-wide federation shall come to be a substantial reality, it will introduce an age in which the wars shall be no more and all histories will deal with the institutional life of mankind.

Economic interests and purposes have, in part, occasioned the wars. There has been a need of expanding territory for an enlarging population, or there has been a need of colonies and "spheres of influence", for commercial purposes. Of late, however, economic motives have been most powerfully revealed in the effort to put an end to warfare, in order that the organic union of the world may become closer and stronger and that industry everywhere may be more remunerative. To influences like this is the movement toward a world state – the greatest fact of modern history – largely due. Such influences are central in all history.

Little argument is needed to show how much America has to offer in the way of showing the connection between economic motives and historical events. This country has engaged in one small war, that with Mexico, which may be classed with the early land grabbing contests of other countries. In its colonial history something akin to this has taken place; but since achieving its independence the country has engaged in only one great military struggle, the Civil War, and that grew out of an internal development in which economic in-

terests played a leading part. Slavery established itself firmly in the South when the use of the cotton gin made it productive. In the contests over the extension of it to new territory and in the war which led to the abolition of it, moral influences had their full effect; but such influences are consistent with the concurrent play of the economic ones. The military part of the brief record of the United States is colored by the action of both sets of influences; and other parts of it are equally so. Parties were once aligned according to their attitude toward slavery, and they are now taking an alignment in which the relations of employers and employed and those of monopolies toward the general public are active factors. The entire period since 1789 has been full of industrial struggles; but the present period is more completely dominated by them than earlier ones have been, and in all of them interests and rights are intertwined.

That American history in this respect reflects the larger history of the world is evident. A fact which everywhere underlies the struggles of employers and employed, and the monopoly and the socialism to which they have led, is the supplanting of hand labor by machinery. To this transformation the United States has been a leading contributor. Its citizens have done a great amount of the inventing and the country has afforded an unequaled inducement to utilize inventions. Everywhere, indeed, have machines won a place for themselves in industry, and everywhere they have translated practical life from one level to another. In America a special necessity has existed for the application of mechanical devices. Only thus has the farmer been able, with the limited amount of labor at his command, to till the amount of land which the government has bestowed on him; and only thus has the manufac-

turer been able to hold his position in the competitive race with European rivals. Our country has lain in the center of the arena in which the contest between hand labor and machine labor has been fought to a finish and machinery has triumphed more completely here than elsewhere.

How much is involved in this transformation? How far into the intimate recesses of social life and individual life have gone the influences that emanated from the invention of James Watt and from those of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton, and the endless succession of men who followed after them? They have done much more than merely to multiply the physical results of labor. We have become different mentally and morally from what we should have been if the mechanical improvements had never taken place. As a matter of fact the steam-engine led to the multiplying of textile machinery, that to the factory system and that to a course of centralization which has gathered vast populations in producing centers. As the use of machinery in America has extended to almost every productive operation, it has carried this centralizing process to very great lengths and in the briefest time. It has led to a fierce competition in every department of business, and this struggle has sought to end itself by the building up of what we call "trusts." During the period of competition and well into the period of growing consolidation another type of contest has been waging – that between employers and employed in each of the different occupations. While the automatic machine, the modern genius of the lamp, has been turning out forms of utility in profusion, masters and workmen have been contending over the sharing of them; and here again organization has played its part and the effects have been far

reaching. We have our national unions of employees on the one hand, and of employers on the other.

We look to England for the beginnings of the use of machinery, but we find in our own country the largest application of it and the greatest results it has as yet produced; and it has resulted from this that American class struggles offer especially furtile fields of study. If there be any probability in the legend that the steam-engine is traceable to the suggestion which James Watt got from watching his aunt's kettle and seeing the pressure of steam raising the lid of it and the escape of the steam letting it fall, then that mythical scene might well be the special symbol of American development. It is without doubt true that what James Watt accomplished, as a young man working in a room in the University of Glasgow under the patronage of Adam Smith, had everything to do with this development. The year 1776, which made the United States an independent nation, and which also saw the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, saw the steam-engine, which was destined to play so important a part in shaping the life of the country, assuming an efficient form. In a way the industrial life of America, as contrasted with the agricultural life of colonial days, if it was not brewing in the mythical tea kettle, was taking shape in the Glasgow workshop. Steam and its consequences have been all important.

It would be too much to claim that the effect of machinery has reached other nations by way of the United States, although in the case of many specific appliances this has been true. In some departments we have been leaders and teachers. What is clear is that the effects which machinery has produced in the United States have resembled in kind and exceeded in

number and degree those which it has produced elsewhere. The mechanical genius of the lamp has in this country gone into every part of the field of production.

With this transformation there has come in America, in a conspicuous way, the centralizing of industries, the fierce competition, the combination of rival producers, and the struggle against monopoly, which are the features of present-day life. We have more trusts and stronger ones than have most countries, and we have strong trade unions and growing socialistic parties. We can see how all this is connected with that complete transformation of practical life which machinery has produced.

It is a paradox that only a great country can be a microcosm. The life of such a country can be largely self-contained. Its farms may feed its own people and its mills may yield that which clothes them. Its forests may furnish what houses them and its myriad of factories may provide the implements and the furnishings that are essential to its comfort. Behind the wall created by an abnormally high protective tariff this central part of the North American continent is able to live a comparatively isolated economic life. Its interchange of products with the rest of the world is slight in volume as compared with its internal commerce. This condition, as might easily be shown, greatly accelerates the growth of producers' combinations. That America is the favorite home of so-called trusts is due to its commercial isolation. With free trade a producers' combination which is confined to a single country usually has no really monopolistic power, since any attempt to restrict production and raise prices attracts the products of foreigners, and causes prices to resume their former level. With the foreigners excluded, the monopoly may

become real and oppressive. It may curtail its output of goods, reduce its working force and raise its scale of prices, to the injury of laborers and consumers.

Whenever this occurs there is an impetus given to radical agitation. Trusts are at least the foster-fathers of socialism in the United States. They have compelled even the conservative classes to demand a vigorous regulation of corporations, and they have caused the more democratic ones to demand the making over of all production, or of much of it, to the State itself. In the colonial period self-government grew out of the local isolation of the settlers; in the present period a new and startling type of democracy is growing out of the commercial isolation of the country taken in connection with the modern processes of production. Machines, great mills, trusts, class struggles, and socialism – such is the sequence in American history. It is instructive for us and for the world because America, in its shut-in position, is preceding the world in a development which must, in the end, become general.

As to the possibility of making a contribution to a philosophy of general history by rescuing and utilizing the scattered records of practical life in the United States, it is to be said at the outset that a systematic statement of the laws of history is far from being included in the plan of the present work. It is, however, coming to be recognized that in no field is the action of masses of men so nearly reducable to a science as in the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. These operations are amenable to known laws; and these laws are the most tangible present element in any philosophy of history which is not made up of speculative guesses. The mere recording of economic facts which historians have in part neglected does much to afford a basis for

the speculation; but what is further true is that it helps to complete the pure science of economics, and so to afford, in the end, a concrete and trustworthy basis for some of the historical philosophy. It is in doing this, that it accomplishes one of its less conspicuous but very far reaching effects.

It is inevitable that historians should try to philosophize. They cannot resist the temptation to fill their narratives with statements as to the causes and effects of the events which they record. Where the entire story has to deal with occurrences of a remote past such speculation is easy, and the reader is not strongly impelled to question it. He cannot know and does not always greatly care whether the writer is correct or incorrect in his assertions. Modern history, however, touches practical life so closely that a loose philosophizing is sure to be called in question. The reader demands a reason for believing that a certain event was the cause of a certain series of other events. In industrial history the statement can usually be put to a test and its accuracy or inaccuracy can be fairly well determined. This can be done the more surely the more fully economic laws become established. What is especially needed is a confirmation of principles of economics by a wide induction from the facts of history – such facts as the present work furnishes. Philosophizing with such a basis may throw light on vital problems. It may illuminate the whole social situation. The possibility of doing this depends on the confidence with which we can appeal to current economic theory. We must have a science that in practical action, can be trusted because it has stood a searching comparison with practical fact.

American history is capable of supplying much of what is still lacking in the science of economics. Theory

tells what must of necessity result from certain influences; but it will make its assertions in a way that will carry full conviction when it can show that in this country the given cause has many times been followed by the effect attributed to it. An economic theory in its earliest stage is a guess as to the cause of some phenomenon; but observation of facts translates even this into established truth. An increased supply of wheat must bring down its price and a diminished supply must raise it. Various *a priori* proofs confirm this view; but it is only by an appeal to facts of common observation that the inferences are translated into incontrovertible truths. When we carry the study into more difficult regions – when, for instance, we make assertions as to the power of monopolies to tax consumers and to oppress workmen – we need a wider induction than in the former case, and here a study of the past is a very great help in verifying economic laws. In a hundred other studies the appeal has to be made directly to history and to statistics, and the more material we can gather from the record of the past, the more confidently we can state the economic laws which prevail in the present.

It is true, indeed, that in the formulation of a law as general as that of price the statistics of a relatively short period are more directly available than a historical narrative covering a long one. The full relation of economic theory, statistics, and history stands about thus: a principle is formulated by *a priori* reasoning concerning facts of common experience; it is then tested by statistics and promoted to the rank of a known and acknowledged truth; illustrations of its action are then found in narrative history and, on the other hand, the economic law becomes the interpreter of records that

would otherwise be confusing and comparatively valueless; the law itself derives its final confirmation from the illustrations of its working which the records afford; but what is at least of equal importance is the parallel fact that the law affords the decisive test of the correctness of those assertions concerning the causes and the effects of past events which it is second nature to make and which historians almost invariably do make in connection with their narrations. We have, therefore, not gone too far in saying that economics furnishes a very large part of the philosophical element in history and by far the largest part of that element which is found in the history of practical social life. We are within bounds in saying that America has afforded the richest field for the application of known economic law to the interpretation of history and that, conversely, the history of America offers the most available means of testing and establishing the correctness of economic theories themselves. One has only to cite such changes as the abolition of slavery and the quick occupation of a vast area of formerly vacant land to see how much of economic development has here been crowded into a brief and recent period, and how full this period is of lessons for the economist.

Such are the more general reasons for attaching the greatest importance to collecting and preserving the materials for an industrial and social history of the United States. The same reasons justify the expectation that the narrative which will be based on these materials will have a quite exceptional interest. The absorbing questions of the present day will be in the reader's mind and he will discover new light on them as the reading proceeds. He will find, moreover, that in solving problems for Americans he is solving them for hu-

manity. By no means will every perplexing question be answered by what the present work will furnish; but a distinct, considerable, and welcome amount of progress will, without doubt, be made in this direction.

American history falls naturally into certain periods; and it requires only a glance at the manner in which the division has usually been made to show how completely, though often somewhat unconsciously, narrators have been influenced by economic facts and principles. We have noticed the introduction of a myriad of machines, driven by steam- and water-power and used mainly in manufacturing and transportation, as a fact that has had in America transforming effects typical of what has gone on more slowly in the world at large. Two changes more nearly peculiar to America and very dominant in all its life have been the growth and abolition of slavery and the steady expansion of the occupied area of land. The western frontier of the country has steadily moved from a line closely following the Atlantic coast across the continent to the Pacific, and the present frontier must be sought in Canada or Alaska.

The periods most frequently recognized in our political history have mainly been determined by slavery and its effects. There was a time when it was not highly profitable and was under a certain moral condemnation. Then, following the invention of the cotton gin, came a period in which it was highly productive and found, first, moral apologists and then zealous defenders. In this period it developed the great plantation system which was so transforming in social life, and which eagerly reached for new areas of territory, an effort which was politically so fateful. To say that the third period in the history of slavery came after its abolition states an essential fact; for the sequels of slavery – col-

ored politics, society, and agricultural life – endured long after the negroes had been set free. The costs of abolition were far from being fully measured by the awful sacrifice of life and treasure directly involved in the Civil War itself. A very large cost came in the shape of political chaos, social disruption, and the economic paralysis during the period following the struggle and before new forces making for prosperity could assert themselves.

The history of the westward expansion of our occupied territory falls into periods which rudely correspond with the different ages of slavery. The settled area was at first in an irregular fringe bordering the sea and its inlets. The inhabitants lived by primitive methods and the period was literally an age of homespun. Even its agriculture went haltingly, if one compares the return in produce with the outlay in labor. Hardly a tithe of what one man now gets out of prairie lands, by the aid of modern appliances, could a man then wring from the niggardly soil he occupied, by means of his old-fashioned tools. This time of meager territorial expansion, and of more meager returns from such land as was occupied, covered in a general way the period before the impetus was given to the plantation system in the South by Eli Whitney's invention. In that period the Alleghanies were crossed by poineers who pushed their difficult way into western forests and began the occupation of the Northwest Territory.

The full development of the great plantation system in the South and that of the rich and powerful states carved out of the Northwest Territory occurred during the same epoch. The Civil War tested the ultimate strength of the civilizations above and below the Ohio River. The period following the war, which was one of fearful disorganization in the South, was one of ab-

normal territorial expansion in the North. It was a period of vast land grants bestowed upon railroads which were built across formerly trackless prairies, in the expectation that settlements would follow rapidly enough to enable them ere long to maintain themselves by traffic. In the interim it was the proceeds of sales of land which maintained them; and in a most interesting way growing land values came, during this period, to be the chief available income for the frontier society which was undergoing such rapid development.

The homestead settler, as a rule, carried little money with him and took up an occupation which, for a year or two, brought him very little. He raised either no crop or a very meager "sod crop" during the first year in which he occupied his holding. In his second year he got a crop from the limited tract of land which he had been able to break up; but only in the third or fourth year did his farm yield him, in crops alone, an adequate return. What was his real return during all this time? It was the growing value of his farm itself. He was becoming a man of property. He was getting out of the ranks of the empty-handed laborers and was in the way to become a substantial citizen. He and his children became admirable material for the building of a democratic nation and of a high order of society. Sooner or later culture had its effects upon them, and the change so well begun ended by making the prairies, which were but yesterday, as it were, tenanted by roving Indians and the animals they hunted, into the abode of a population which can be confidently expected to maintain the best standards of civilization. It required more than the waving of the flag of our republic to americanize the immigrants from Europe. American land did most of it.

The influence of an expanding area of land is a fas-

cinating subject of economic study and is sure to be equally attractive for the reader of history. For a time it reversed that condition with which economists are sadly familiar, that, namely, in which the growth of capital and population presses more and more severely upon the capacity of the land. At this time it was the expanding amount of available land which made more and more exacting demands on the capacity of labor and capital. The laborer, chiefly the farmer himself, would have been nonplussed and thwarted by the amount he had to do, even on the submissive open prairie, if new instruments had not been put at his disposal. Necessity, the mother of invention, conjured agricultural machinery out of nonexistence, and the mower, the reaper, the seeding machine, the gang-plow and a score or more of other appliances made the man master of his farm and able to develop its full resources. All this meant large returns for labor and, in some times and places, almost fabulous returns for the little amount of capital which was to be had.

A particularly interesting fact connected with the entire period of rapid westward movement of the frontier is the manner in which growing land values entered into the general rewards of labor. Even the worker who took up no homestead came to share the benefit of this growth. It has been correctly said that, during the period when land seemed limitless in amount and labor and capital very scarce, the wages of any kind of labor were the amount that would induce men to work for others in lieu of becoming homestead farmers themselves. How many dollars a week sufficed to make it worth while not to take a homestead? was the question that many a man asked himself when ordinary employment was offered to him. Now the returns of a home-

stead settler consisted, as we have seen, mainly in the increased value of his farm. It was the lure which the prospect of this value held out to him which he was asked to barter off for the steady flow of dollars which wage-earning might bring him. It thus came to pass that in the village and the city the artisan of every class received pay which, for a time, contained an element of land value. It was larger than it would otherwise have been by reason of the fact that so many workers were steadily drawn to the frontier farms by the prospect of independence which increased land value afforded. Those who remained behind demanded and received some offset for relinquishing those prospects.

While the plantation system was growing in the South, the rich states north of the Ohio river were in process of occupation; and after the abolition of slavery an empire grew up in the remoter West. In many more ways than can here be mentioned the period of expansion of the occupied territory is full of lessons political and social as well as purely economic. It was a time when a vast number of men, who in other conditions would have been empty-handed laborers, were translated to the level of owners of modest estates. It was a time when the industries in the older states were adjusted to the conditions of a moving frontier, the most "dynamic" of possible influences. It meant that building material, general supplies and implements and machinery in limitless amounts had to be sent out to the frontier, from which, in the first period of its occupation, returns were meager. A long and steady westward movement and the absence of any speculative mania might have made the entire period from the end of the Civil War to the present time one of uninterrupted prosperity. A highly changeful element which

the period contains accounts for the violence of business crises. The forced movement of the frontier caused by the overstimulated railroad building had its irregularities. The more dynamic a society is the greater are the irregularities of its development and the more certain are its members to forecast the future in a speculative way and to count on returns which now and then refuse to come. The theory of business crises is illuminated by the record of the settlement of the great West.

Perhaps it should be said that a history of America prepared by economists should throw more light than has ever been thrown before on the subject of protective tariffs; and while unanimity of view is not to be expected in this department of thought, there are a few leading facts concerning which much difference of view would be discreditable. One of these is that original high wages were what called into existence the protective system. Duties on imports could not have originally created the high wages that existed before they were imposed. The second fact is that the argument for protection, which has existed in the mind of the American people from the beginning, has been a dynamic argument. The measure has had, as its object, the development of resources which were sure to be valuable in the end, though at the outset and for a long time the process was costly.

Immigration has been a leading fact in American history, and the sources of it and the character of the immigrants have had a prominent place in thought and discussion. It has not been by chance that a change in the nationality and the condition of the immigrants took place at about the time of the close of the Civil War. As the periods of the history of the Republic which

are based on the growth and abolition of slavery coincide, in a general way, with those which are based on the settlement of different parts of the northern territory, they also rudely coincide with the changes which have taken place in the amount and character of the immigration to this country. While the plantation system was perfecting itself in the South and states were building within the so-called Northwest Territory, the immigrants came largely from Great Britian and Ireland. The great influx from Ireland coincided with a rapid development of the states lying north of the Ohio. The change by which Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, and the Slavic countries came to figure prominently as the source of the stream of immigration took place when the remoter areas of the West came rapidly to be occupied. This is more than a mere coincidence. The exploitation of the remote West was pushed with the greatest rapidity because railroads were everywhere penetrating that territory and making its lands accessible. At the same time railroads and steamship lines were reducing the time and the cost required for a journey from remote countries to America. This it was which made immigration everywhere possible for poorer classes than those that had formerly furnished settlers for American lands. An economic cause changed the character of the incoming human stream.

The question which is most frequently asked is whether the new immigrants are not too foreign to be americanized. It would seem that some of them might be less easily assimilated than those who came from Great Britian and Ireland. Experience is the test which must here be applied; and such experience as the country has had during the last of the periods referred to will, as may be confidently asserted, prove that the

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americanizing goes on effectively when the economic conditions of this country itself are such as to ensure it. Conditions take precedence of racial qualities because the change in prevailing conditions is far greater than the changes of race. There is far more likeness between different branches of the European family than there is between the economic conditions into which immigrants came in the third quarter of the last century, and those into which they come today. Then they could have farms for the asking, while now most of them must go into mills, mines, shops, and railroad plants or become employees or tenants on farms owned by others. In such places the americanizing goes on under difficulties and the marshalling of many of the immigrants in the army of trade unionism, on the one hand, or that of socialism on the other, becomes natural and inevitable. The problem of democracy thus becomes complicated; and while the solution of it would become far easier if our citizenship were more homogeneous, it is an error to attribute the origin of the difficulty to the races represented by the immigrants or the conditions that prevail in the countries from which they come. An economic study of American history will show how the problems that alarm many of our people and perplex all of them have actually arisen.

It is clear that the work undertaken by Professors Ely and Commons and their associates enters what is possibly the richest of all comparatively unworked fields of history and also promises to yield especially large results in economics. Ten volumes are none too much for what the writers aim to accomplish. Collecting, in the first place, a great store of first-hand materials for the industrial history of America, printing and rescuing from destruction the most valuable part of it, and then

writing the history itself, is a sufficient work for several men for a considerable number of years. It goes without saying that the writers and their corps of fellow workers are preëminently qualified for the work they have in hand. Very abundant is the material which their industry has already gathered together and correspondingly valuable will be the narrative which they will base on it. Both history and economic theory will be largely affected by this work and even practical industry should go on somewhat better because the men who control it will have more assured principles for their guidance. In particular should the making of laws to govern the delicate relations of employers and employed and those of producers and consumers become a less crude and experimental process than it now is, when it shall have the guidance which history and theory can give. Democracy itself will attain a more assured success when a knowledge of economic law rather than caprice or excited feeling is at the basis of its action.

JOHN BATES CLARK.

Columbia University, August, 1909.

PLANTATION AND FRONTIER
1649-1863

Selected, Collated, and Edited
with Introduction by

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Volume I

INTRODUCTION

In the study of industrial society we are concerned with the people earning their living, and in the present volume it is mainly with the people of the Old South. The South in politics, the South at war, the South at play have been the subjects of much good historical description; but there is a dearth of first-hand information in regard to the South at work.

The history of industrial society is to be distinguished at the outset from the history of industrial processes. The latter is concerned mainly with machines and technique, the former in the main with men and manners. It is a phase of social history. If made inclusive enough, the study of industrial society may touch all phases of human life; but its concern is, primarily, with the grouping and activity of the people as organized in society for the purpose of producing material goods, and secondarily, with the reflex influence of the work and work-grouping upon life, upon philosophy, and upon the internal and external relations of the society.

This history, like all social history, is in one great aspect the record of the adjustment of men to their environment. The problem in America was that of Europeans, and mostly Englishmen, entering a remote wilderness and making a double adjustment of themselves to their habitat and their habitat to themselves. The Indians had made one use of the country; negroes, Malays or Tartars, if placed in it and left to their own devices, would have developed characteristic systems of

their own; and the Englishmen transplanted hither wrought upon the land, grouped themselves, established relations with the inferior races, experienced reactions from their environment, and developed systems in ways which could hardly have been spontaneous with people of any other origin. From Anglo-American beginnings, distinctively American types of industrial society have evolved, which are conspicuous in the world's history for their efficiency in the functions for which they were intended. Relatively free from the bondage of old-world traditions, the people were able to experiment with methods of work and systems of social organization, to discard the less and retain the more successful ones and remould these to a still greater efficiency. The immediate purpose was the exploitation of a continent – the utilization and enjoyment of its resources. Systems were shaped accordingly. These characteristic systems differed in the several regions of the continent; and they replaced one another in various districts, as the conditions of life and prosperity underwent changes. In some districts and industries, the general problems were similar to those prevailing in England and Europe; and in such cases the systems of life tended to be not unlike those of the old world. These have grown more prominent and more like those of Europe as the country has grown older. Other systems have been, first and last, peculiarly American.

By evolution in the one case and revolution in the other, two systems in American industrial society of the greatest historical importance have now almost wholly vanished. These, the frontier and the plantation system, form a large part of the American past, from which the present with its resources, its industrial and social constitution, and its problems has resulted. The fron-

tier performed its mission in one area after another, giving place in each to a more complex society which grew out of the frontier régime and supplanted it. By this process the whole vast region of the United States, within the limits where the rainfall is sufficient for tillage, has been reduced to occupation in a phenomenally rapid process. The extension of settlement being now ended, the system has died from want of room.

The plantation system was evolved to answer the specific need of meeting the world's demand for certain staple crops in the absence of a supply of free labor. That system, providing efficient control and direction for labor imported in bondage, met the obvious needs of the case, waxed strong, and shaped not alone the industrial régime to fit its requirements, but also the social and commercial system and the political policy of a vast section; and it incidentally trained a savage race to a certain degree of fitness for life in the Anglo-Saxon community. Through the civil war and political reconstruction of the South, accompanied by social upheaval, the plantation system was cut short in the midst of its career. It only survives in a few fragments and in forms greatly changed from the characteristic type. Both the frontier and plantation systems can now be studied in the main only in documents.

The most perfect types both of plantation and frontier occurred in the Southern Colonies, including the West Indies, and the subsequent Southern States. A few plantations existed north of Mason and Dixon's Line; but the climate and crops were not suited to the full routine which typical plantations required. The wilderness of the Northwest was reduced by a great body of frontiersmen; but some of the features of the full type of frontier were usually lacking there, in that

the United States army policed the Indians and the popular government was administered directly under the Federal authority. In the Southwest the settlers in general did their own fighting, their own land-office work, their own legislating, when any was done, and their own administering of the laws.

The South, then, gives type illustration of both plantation and frontier; and furthermore, it gives example of great regions in which one or the other of these systems controlled the lives and destinies of the people. In fact, these two systems dominated the whole South. Small farms of the normal type existed in great numbers; towns, factories and mines were not wholly absent; but in the several areas, as a rule, either the plantation system or the frontier shaped the general order of life without serious rival. Hence the ante bellum South is peculiarly the region of plantation and frontier and a study of those systems may largely coincide with a study of Southern industrial organization and society.

To make the theme clearer it will be well to distinguish the types. A plantation was a unit in agricultural industry in which the laboring force was of considerable size, the work was divided among groups of laborers who worked in routine under supervision, and the primary purpose was in each case the production of a special staple commodity for sale. The laborers were generally in a status of bondage. Wage-earners might be employed; but for the sake of certainty in maintaining a constant and even supply of labor from season to season, indented servants and negro slaves were the commoner resort.

A farm, then as now, was an agricultural unit in which the laboring force was relatively small. There was no sharp distinction between workman and super-

visor. A less regular routine was followed and the primary purpose was divided between producing commodities for market and commodities for consumption within the family. Farmers might hire help and might buy slaves. With unfree labor as such, however, they had little or no vital concern. Their need for assistance was in most cases not constant but intermittent; and wage-earning help, which might be hired for a period and then discharged, was better suited to their needs than long term bonded laborers. Frontier industrial units were on an average still smaller, comprising in many cases only a single person; agriculture was pursued only to supply necessaries, attention was often given mainly to hunting or Indian trading, and the individual or group was in many emergencies concerned with the protection of life more than with the accumulation of property. On a plantation the workmen were distinctly of a laboring class. On a farm they were of the nature of help in the farmer's own work. In frontier industry there were usually no employers of labor at all and no employees of any sort.

These three types shaded from one to another with no distinct line of differentiation, though the types at the two ends of the series, plantation and frontier, were of course in strong contrast. At any given time, each of these types throve predominantly in certain areas in the South, while in others they existed only in subordination, if at all. Where two or all three coexisted in a single area, the systems usually competed for the supremacy; and in the outcome the most efficient for the main purpose at hand would conquer. The representatives of the other types would mostly have to move on. The location of these types, therefore, was somewhat transitory. The great abundance of land available and

the short-lived fertility of the soil, together with the prevailing wasteful methods of tillage, caused a great hunger for land and, to satisfy that hunger, a rapid extension of settlement. Thus arose the westward movement. In it each of the southern types of industrial society took part; and throughout the whole belt of country suitable for exploitation by these systems a running contest ensued between them.

Space is not available to show the origin and early phases of these systems and their contest by the printing of first-hand materials; and furthermore the record from the fugitive documents would perhaps be too fragmentary for the purpose. The text of many documents in our present collection, however, will suggest the fact that there was a never-ending evolution through the competition of industrial units and systems. A rapid survey of the general development by areas will give a setting to our several categories of documents and will show incidentally how much the economic history of the Old South in its plantation regions was made up of extensions and repetitions of the same general phenomena. The plantation system had independent origins in the Spanish West Indies and in English Virginia. In the latter case, which will concern us first, the system and its name evolved simultaneously.

When Virginia was founded, the word *plantation* had the meaning of the modern word colony. The Jamestown settlement was the plantation of the London Company in the sense that the Company had founded it and exercised jurisdiction over it. But there was incidentally a closer relation between the settlement and the Company, which the word *colony* does not connote. The Company owned the land; it owned the equipment; and it had property rights in the labor of the settlers

whom it sent over. The Company provided taskmasters; it fed and clothed the laborers from its magazine; and it owned the produce resulting from their work. That is to say, early Virginia was the *plantation* of the London Company in the modern sense of the term – it was an industrial establishment rather than a political community. The next step in the development of Virginia came when a decade's experience had shown the many short-comings of the system of operating the whole province as one estate and caused the Company's plantation to be replaced by smaller industrial units. This occurred through the distribution of land in severalty. Many of the men who acquired land became farmers on a small scale, tilling their own fields. Others, whether individually or in small stock companies, secured large tracts of land, imported labor (comprising chiefly indentured Europeans), and continued with suitable modifications the system with which the London Company had begun, and which came to be known as the plantation system. By virtue of this transition, Virginia, from being a mere plantation owned by the London Company, became a colony or commonwealth, comprising independent farms and private plantations. The discovery of the great resource for profit in raising tobacco gave the spur to Virginia's large-scale industry and her territorial expansion. Not only this, but it brought about the methods of life which controlled the history of Virginia through the following centuries and of the many colonies and states which borrowed her plantation system.

Settlement quickly spread along the banks of the James river from Chesapeake Bay to the head of navigation, where the city of Richmond now stands. Plantations and farms dotted the river shores in a narrow

tongue of settlement thrust into the wilderness. For a period practically all the settlers were tobacco producers, all were in close touch with navigable water and the route to Europe, and all, so to speak, rubbed shoulders with the Indians. Seeking fertile lands, planters began to make clearings on the York River about 1630 and then upon the Rappahannock and Potomac. As decades passed, settlement was spread throughout the tide water stretches of these parallel streams; and the commonwealth of Virginia, by this broadening of its area, acquired dimensions conducing to its more easy defence and to the geographical differentiation of conditions and pursuits. The tide water peninsulas tended to be monopolized by the planters; the mainland, west and south, chiefly attracted the men of little property. A great fall in tobacco prices at an early period forced the less efficient producers out of that industry, and nothing was left them but self-sufficing economy. The fitness of routine methods for tobacco raising and the advantages of producing and marketing on a large scale gave the control of that industry to the planters. The farmers soon found it of no advantage to live within hail of ocean-going ships; and most of those who owned tide water farms sold them to neighboring planters and moved inland where lands were cheaper and fresher, and society might be moulded to the wishes of their class. Emancipated redemptioners, as they emerged from servitude, were attracted by the industrial opportunity and the spirit of democracy prevailing on the outskirts of settlement and tended strongly to join the westward drift. In general, the longer settled and the more accessible areas grew to assume the full plantation type, while the newer areas, with a simpler organization, served as a buffer, shelter-

ing the former from the dangers and inconveniences of the wilderness.

As years passed the numbers of planters increased, partly through the division of estates among heirs, partly through the rise of exceptional yeomen into planting estate, partly by the immigration of gentlemen of means from England. The growth of the farming population was much more rapid; for the planters had to serve constantly as immigration agents in order to maintain their supply of indented labor; and redemptioners were as constantly completing their terms and becoming yeomen, marrying and multiplying. The Virginia plantation districts, therefore, as a by-product provided a pioneering population, detached from the plantation system. These occupied the "back country" of Virginia, and also spread into eastern and then into central North Carolina. An entirely similar process was going on in Maryland and, one not widely different, in Pennsylvania. This group of colonies thus produced the first great supply of people for the process of secondary colonization, which we know as the westward movement. They continued to recruit the pioneering population in large volume, as long as the system of indented servitude remained a chief basis of their industry.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Virginia and Maryland changed to the basis of negro slavery as their chief supply of labor. This had important effects upon the output of pioneers. The negroes being preferred for the gang labor, the redemptioners of the eighteenth century in Virginia tended to be mostly artisans and responsible persons. When achieving freedom they were accordingly of a more capable and substantial type. After the great resort to slave labor, therefore,

the output of pioneers from the plantation districts diminished in volume and improved in quality.

As this emigration of freedmen from the plantations slackened, and as the farming districts grew broader and extended more remotely, the planting and farming districts respectively tended to lose touch, and further, the farming districts began to show a differentiation within themselves. The older and nearer portions tended to acquire a steady-going, peace-loving population, while to the furthest and thinnest edges of settlement there were attracted the more restless and venturesome. By these developments, the frontier in Maryland and Virginia had been extended by 1740 to within perhaps fifty miles of the Blue Ridge, while the plantation districts were still confined to the close neighborhood of tide water.

About this time began the entrance into Virginia, through the then remote and little known Shenandoah Valley, of the great wave of migration from Pennsylvania, made up mostly of Scotch-Irish and Germans. This in the following decades brought multitudinous recruits to the farming and frontier population and caused a very rapid extension of the occupied area throughout the Shenandoah and Piedmont Virginia, across Piedmont Carolina to middle Georgia, and into the valley of East Tennessee, and even across the Cumberland Mountains to Kentucky and the Nashville district.

Meanwhile a new plantation district was growing into great prominence in the lower South. This was in the coast region lying around the budding city of Charleston. The European settlers and their system of industry arrived in South Carolina by way of the West Indies; and it is well for us to follow the same detour, tracing origins and developments as we go.

In the first place, the Spaniards had begun at once after the discovery by Columbus to exploit such wealth as the West Indies could yield. They enslaved the aborigines in immense numbers, and fed them so little and drove them so hard in their gold mines and their sugar fields that the Indians died off as if by pestilence. To replace the Indians, negroes began about 1520 to be imported in large numbers to serve in the Spanish islands as slaves. The development, however, was not rapid. As soon as the wealth of precious metals in Mexico and Peru had been discovered the most ardent fortune seekers hurried to these new acquisitions; and the islands were left to unaggressive settlers who in the main lived passively upon the labor of their negro slaves in sugar culture. The Spaniards maintained a sort of plantation system; but by reason of the listlessness of its captains, their industry stagnated. The resources of none of the islands were at all fully utilized, and many of the Indies were left by them entirely vacant.

Beginning in 1641, the outlying little island of Barbadoes was occupied by a sudden in-pouring of Englishmen, mostly royalist refugees from the victorious army of the Roundheads. Barbadoes, measuring only twenty by ten miles in length and breadth, was quickly crowded with people, and its whole area reduced to tillage in small estates. The sugar industry, however, led to the rapid importation of negro slaves and to the enlargement of estates. This caused much cramping. When war began with Spain, the Barbadians eagerly joined in an English expedition and captured the island of Jamaica in 1655. Here there was abundance of land for a large working population. The settlers in Barbadoes had already borrowed the Spanish method of using slave labor in sugar production: and, from the needs of their case and from their own large capability

as industrial managers, they rendered the plantation system much more efficient in the raising of cane and the making of sugar. In Jamaica this improved system quickly expanded and caused the growth of very large and very productive plantations. The average unit of industry in the Jamaican sugar fields came to be a plantation with a total of nearly two hundred negroes, of whom more than half were workers in the field gangs. The laborers were strictly classified and worked in squads under close and energetic supervision to near the maximum of their muscular ability. The routine was thoroughly systematic, and the system as efficient on the whole as could well be, where the directors were so few and the negroes so many and so little removed from the state of African savagery. The Jamaican units on the average were the largest in all the history of plantation industry. The disproportion of the races was greater than in any other Anglo-American colony or commonwealth, and the association of master and slave was the slightest. The huge demand for negroes in Jamaica prevented the rise of opportunity for any great number of white men. The demand for overseers was limited by the number of plantations; and the opportunity for white mechanics, merchants, and laborers was not large.

The acquisition of Jamaica did not wholly relieve the congestion in Barbadoes. The Barbadian, John Colleton, soon turned the attention of some of his associates to the continental coast as a further opportunity for expansion. Under a charter of 1663 for Carolina, a band of Barbadians and Englishmen planted the town of Charleston in 1670. Ignorant of the local resources, they found little of a profitable character to do. Trading with the Indians and exporting a small volume of naval stores, the settlement followed a self-sufficing economy

on a petty scale and languished, until the resource of rice production was discovered in 1694. Following this, there was a rapid importation of negro slaves and a rapid extension of settlement along the fertile strips of land in the neighborhood of the water-broken coast. South Carolina became highly prosperous, and spent most of her earnings in the purchase of more slaves to raise more rice. The addition of indigo as a supplementary staple, about 1745, doubled the resources and intensified the system. The typical estate came to be a plantation with about thirty working hands, cultivating rice in the swampy lands and indigo in the drier fields, in a steady routine which lasted nearly the whole year through. The nature of the climate and the work to be done precluded, as in Jamaica, the use of any but negro labor in the gangs. The prevalence of malaria in the hot months caused most of the planters to abandon their estates for much of the year to the care of overseers and foremen. In contrast with this, the usual type of estate in the Virginia plantation districts had only five or ten working hands, of whom part were likely to be white redemptioners; and the master and his family were usually on the estate the year round. The periodical absenteeism in the rice district, together with the relatively large size of the industrial units, brought about a status of race relations more similar to that of Jamaica than to that of Virginia, where the negro servants had gradually replaced the white ones and were often in close touch with their masters' families.

In Georgia, the rulers of the colony tried hard to keep out slave labor; but about 1750 had to yield to the inevitable. Thereafter the sea-island district of Georgia tended to assume the same complexion as that which the South Carolina lowlands had acquired.

The rice and indigo district, unlike the Virginia-Maryland region, developed town life as well as rural. Charleston, and on a much smaller scale Savannah, were centers of commerce and society. These towns developed some interesting relations between slave, free negro, and white labor, which some of our documents will indicate. The Charleston-Savannah district, employing very few indented servants and attracting very few independent white laborers, furnished only a small number of farmers or frontiersmen. Industrial society was not upon a basis to produce pioneers. Furthermore, no gateway was at hand leading to the continent's interior. The great sandy tract which covers most of the coastal plain from southern Virginia to Texas, pine-grown and barren of resources for the men of the period, was widest in South Carolina and Georgia. To reach the country of rolling hills, hard wood timber and clay soil, the men from Charleston and Savannah would have to journey across a hundred and fifty miles of the vacant and forbidding pine-barrens. Access to the Carolina-Georgia piedmont from the northeastward was much easier for pioneers, because the route lay through resourceful country, uniform and familiar in character, and already in part occupied. The tide of migration from Pennsylvania and Virginia had reached the piedmont of South Carolina before any people from the coast had begun to cross the great belt of pine-barrens which shut them in. Thereafter there was but a thin stream from Charleston to join the tide from the northward. In the South Carolina-Georgia coast district there was little opportunity for small farmers, and much for capable planters with their gangs. Farmers, therefore, had little occasion to enter the district, and planters in the eighteenth century no occasion to leave

it. This region, accordingly, grew to be one of those most thoroughly dominated by the plantation system; and it came to be less in touch than any other on the continent with the needs and policy of the farming districts and the frontier.

The result of colonial developments may be pictured in a view of conditions prevailing on the eve of the war for independence:

1 The Chesapeake lowlands and the eastern part of the neighboring hill country were the seat of the tobacco industry, then yielding what was still the most important staple on the continent. By far the most of the output was produced in the plantation system and by far the most of the laborers were negro slaves. The units of plantation industry were relatively small, ranging usually below twenty and often below ten field hands to the plantation. There was a large number, also, of free farmers and an appreciable number of indented servants, especially in Maryland. The lands in the older parts of the districts were by this time largely exhausted and industry somewhat depressed. Eastern Virginia on the whole had begun to pass the zenith of her prosperity. The tobacco staple was a resource of decreasing value, and many people were finding it necessary to resort instead to the production of foodstuffs for market. A readjustment was beginning, which involved the decline of the plantation system in that district. There was a striking dearth of towns and of manufacturing. The trade of most planters with London was inconveniently remote. The towns of Baltimore, Annapolis, Norfolk and Richmond were rising to some little consequence; but the Virginia-Maryland community on the whole was overwhelmingly rural. Across the North Carolina boundary, the district about

Albemarle Sound was merely a subprovince of the Chesapeake region. By this time it had received some slaveholding immigrants from Virginia, and thus added to its small-farming population a certain number of tobacco planters.

2 The Shenandoah Valley and most of the piedmont country from Maryland to eastern Georgia was now occupied by a large but thinly scattered population of backwoods farmers, whose area of occupation touched the plantation district in Virginia, but was widely separated from it in the Carolinas and Georgia by the intervening pine-barrens. The western portions of these settlements were much of the frontier complexion. The main advance guard of the pioneers, however, had now reached the "western waters" in what we now call East Tennessee, and the most adventurous of them had recently crossed the barrier of the Cumberland range and staked out claims in central Kentucky and the Nashville district.

3 The South Carolina-Georgia lowlands were a segregated area occupied by plantations of a large average size, and with but few nonslaveholding farmers. Most of the unattached working men who by chance entered this district either took employment in the commercial towns or pushed across the pine-barrens to join the backwoodsmen of the Piedmont.

4 St. Augustine, Pensacola, Mobile, Biloxi, New Orleans, Natchez, etc., in the provinces of Florida and Louisiana, both at this time held by Spain, were either feeble garrisons or trifling posts for the Indian trade. No considerable agriculture had been developed except in a few clearings upon the banks of the Mississippi; and even in them industry languished. The industrial future of the country was clearly in the hands of the

Anglo-Americans; and the Gulf region awaited their coming.

The war for independence brought, of course, a severe economic depression; and this caused some geographical and industrial readjustment. Eastern Virginia suffered a large emigration of its planters, many of whom removed only to the adjacent Piedmont; but some were bold enough to make the long journey to Kentucky with their slaves to exploit the newly famed tobacco lands there. Others enquired for openings in Georgia and Florida, and only awaited favorable reports thence to migrate southward. The planters in the rice district were also depressed for the time, because the withdrawal of the British bounty on indigo had ended their profits from that staple. As for the Piedmont, the number of farms was gradually being increased; and so also in east and middle Tennessee.

The depression of the planting industry lasted only until the resort to the new staple of cotton. Sea-island cotton was made available in 1786, and upland cotton by the invention of Whitney's gin in 1793. The former revived the prosperity of the rice coast; the latter had tremendous results in revolutionizing the economy and the social constitution of the Carolina and Georgia Piedmont and developing the country westward as far as Texas and north to the southwestern point of Kentucky. Slaveholders from all of the older plantation districts now began to pour into the Carolina and Georgia upland. Very many of the farmers in that region at the same time advanced to the status of planters through the devotion of their earnings from high-priced cotton to the purchase of slaves.

In this newly developing cotton belt a pell-mell régime prevailed. In a scrambling scattered mass of

many sorts of people, planters, slaves, farmers, poor whites, and frontiersmen nearly all were concerned with getting cotton lands. The Creeks and Cherokees resisted the pressure upon their hunting grounds; and there was accordingly a mixture of plantation and frontier régimes in middle Georgia, as also afterward in Alabama and Mississippi. The passage of years witnessed a systematizing process in the cotton belt, and in some measure a segregating process which put the planters in control of most of the fertile and accessible areas.

Meanwhile it had been discovered in Louisiana in 1794, that sugar could be produced there with success; and a development of sugar plantations on a considerable scale had begun in the brief remaining period of the Spanish and French dominations. The arrival of the American régime in the sugar district of Louisiana had much the same stimulating and systematizing effect as that which, as we have noted, followed the English capture of Jamaica. Large and thoroughly organized plantations became the characteristic feature. The sugar district was confined by climatic limitations to the southern part of the present state of Louisiana. Soon after the Louisiana Purchase, it became known that the alluvial lands north of the sugar district could be used for short-staple cotton. The bottoms were relatively slow, however, in acquiring a good reputation except for sugar production. The Georgia and Carolina midlands were for a period in more active demand.

The War of 1812 brought another economic crisis, which again hastened the developments already in progress. Eastern Virginia and Maryland were further depopulated, and the Virginia Piedmont also supplied emigrants. The high cotton prices which came with

the return of peace brought a new influx from these districts, and also from the Carolina coast, into the cotton belt. The defeat of the Creeks in war by Andrew Jackson had meanwhile forced a cession of a large part of Alabama; and within the next two decades the Southern Indians were obliged to give up all their remaining lands east of the Mississippi. Thereby a large territory was rapidly opened to receive the spread of settlement. The result was a thin occupation at the outset, in a wildly speculative régime, followed by a sobering process, in which a heavy fall in cotton prices assisted. The lowlands upon the Mississippi River, offering the attraction of inexhaustibly fertile soil, became a district of specially large slaveholdings, whether for cotton or sugar production, and specially subject to spasms of inflation and depression. In the same period the population was being increased in Kentucky and middle Tennessee in more sedate fashion, as well as in the territory north of the Ohio River. Florida, also, received some immigration after its purchase in 1819; but Florida lay without the cotton belt proper and suffered a relative neglect. The only great extension of the plantation area remaining to be mentioned was that into Texas. The attractions of that region were the prairies for cattle and the river lands for cotton. The process of occupation, from the industrial point of view, was not widely different from that of other new districts in the cotton belt, except that the farms and plantations were more sparsely distributed and industry was somewhat more diversified, and the proportion of negro laborers smaller than in the other cases. The occupation of Arkansas and West Tennessee was merely an extension of the movement into the Mississippi cotton region. Rough conditions prevailed for a period;

but industry in sober routine was not slow in replacing the régime of legal and social chaos. The settlement of Missouri was marked by an effort to extend the plantation system into a region not suited to the staples. A considerable number of slaves were carried thither; but they were found relatively unprofitable as laborers; and as years passed their number tended to diminish through sales to the cotton belt.

A factor which strongly marked off the later period in the Old South's history and exerted great influence upon its industrial constitution was the closing of the foreign slave trade by the congressional act of 1808. Thereafter the tobacco and rice districts had a corner on the supply of slave labor which the cotton belt was demanding; slave prices entered upon a great rise and became subject to wild fluctuations; the industrial units and the several plantation districts competed strenuously for the possession of the available slaves; industry reached very much a speculative basis; crises of great severity became periodical; and the stress of the times quickened migration and hastened the segregation of types. Under these stimuli, the people of the South had gotten fairly acquainted with the qualities and relative advantages of every part of their country, by 1850 or 1860, and in each area had to a large degree developed that distinctive industrial system which, under the general circumstances of their legal system and their labor supply, served best to utilize local opportunities.

A survey on the eve of the War of Secession will show the conditions of industrial society as follows:

Tide water Virginia and the greater part of Maryland had long been exhausted for plantation purposes and were being reclaimed by farmers working with much the same methods as were followed in the north-

ern states. The large land- and slave-owners mostly followed an example which George Washington had set and divided up their estates into small units in each of which a few negroes worked in the raising of varied crops under the control of a white man who was more a foreman leading the squad than an overseer driving it. Planters, who adhered to the old methods, were now of decayed estate, supported more by the sale of slaves than by the raising of tobacco. Incidentally, eastern Virginia and Maryland had come to have a very large number of free negroes.

The Piedmont in Virginia and the Carolinas had also reached a stage of some exhaustion and depopulation. The great liability of the hillsides to the washing away of their soil made the preservation of fertility peculiarly difficult in this rolling country, while the plantation system as generally administered was notorious for its carelessness of tillage.

The Charleston-Savannah district was moderately prosperous with its rice and sea-island cotton; and still excluded all small farmers except the poor whites, who were too low in the scale of industry and comfort to feel any effects of competition. The pine-barrens, including most of Florida, were vacant of people except for a thin sprinkling of farmers who tended more or less toward the poor white status.

The South Carolina and Georgia uplands were a fairly prosperous region dominated by planters but with a large portion of each neighborhood owned and cultivated by small farmers. The Alabama black lands, running across the State in a belt just below Montgomery and thence up the Tombigbee Valley, together with the Mississippi and Red River bottoms and a portion of Texas, formed the western cotton belt, which for four

decades had been buying all the spare negroes from every other part of the South and smuggling in some from abroad to help in meeting its demand. The cotton estates in the alluvial districts tended to have larger gangs than those elsewhere; but of course the greatest industrial units of all were the sugar estates, where the need of the large economies incident to the operation of a sugar mill on each plantation discouraged all small or medium-sized units from attempting to compete. It must be observed, however, that all the western cotton belt and the sugar district was interspersed more or less with barren or remote tracts where poor whites or other small farmers might live undisturbed by offers of tempting prices for their lands.

Kentucky and middle Tennessee were a region of diversified industry, producing grain and live stock, tobacco, some cotton, and in one district a large output of hemp. Manufacturing, too, reached appreciable dimensions. Some of the agriculture permitted the plantation system; some did not. Much of the region had a considerable minority of negroes in its population, but very few localities had a majority of them.

In the Shenandoah Valley, northern models of farming were followed, producing large crops of grain, hay, fruit, etc. Attempts by eastern Virginians had been made to establish plantations in the Shenandoah, but only to fail. Slaves were sprinkled in the population but served only as help, not as gang labor. East Tennessee was practically a duplicate of the Shenandoah in its industrial society. It had long been shut out by the mountains from any access to markets for its produce; but the building of railway connection to the cotton belt brought a long delayed wave of prosperity. It of course produced none of the southern staples; it had no slaves to speak of, and no plantations.

As for the people living in the midst of the mountains, in West Virginia, Kentucky, western North Carolina, etc., they were so completely isolated, self-sufficing and unprogressive as to have practically no influence upon the rest of the South and little development of their own.

The succession of stages and systems which we have observed in this outline of the development in the several areas on the continent was largely analogous to that which other students have described among the West India Islands. Merivale,[1] for example, has written in substance as follows on the remarkable repetition of industrial history in the West Indies: The same causes, operating in one island after another, produce the same effects. The opening of a fresh soil, with freedom of trade, gives sudden stimulus to settlement and industry; the land is covered with free proprietors, and a general but rude prosperity prevails. Then follows a period of more careful cultivation, during which estates are consolidated, gangs of slaves succeed to communities of freemen, the rough commonwealth is transformed into a most productive factory. But fertility diminishes; the cost of production augments; slave labor, always dear, becomes dearer through the increased expense of supporting it. At this stage, new islands are occupied, and fresh sources of production opened; the older colonies, meeting thus a ruinous competition, descend after a period of difficulty and suffering into a secondary state, in which capital, economy, and increased skill make up in part only for the advantages which have been lost. Thus, the Windward Islands first supplied almost all the then limited consumption of sugar and coffee in Europe; Jamaica rose on their decay, and went through precisely the same stages of existence; San

[1] *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (London, 1841), 92, 93.– Ed.

Domingo in turn greatly eclipsed Jamaica, but was overwhelmed by the great negro insurrection, and never reached the period of decline. Lastly the Spanish Colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, after centuries of comparative neglect, started all at once into the front rank of exporting islands, while the British planters, with the aid of their accumulated capital, were struggling against encroaching decay. The parallel of the history of the islands with that of the staple areas on the mainland is remarkably close, and is useful in confirming the views we have reached of the nature, influence and history of the plantation system.

Our outline of the history of southern industrial society suffices to show the striking repetition of process and to indicate the differentiation of types, area by area. It demonstrates that documents to illustrate either the frontier or the plantation régime can be chosen indifferently from numerous areas, provided that a due regard be had to the periods of time and stages of development within which the writings respectively may fall.

Within the several plantation districts, the systems of labor were determined largely by the requirements of the staples. The size of the units was controlled in large measure by the degree of fitness of the soil and the staple for full routine in simple tasks. Sugar cane offered the best opportunity for plantations of great size, because no delicate work was required and there was employment throughout the year for crude muscular force with a minimum of intelligence and painstaking. The rice crop was next in the order of these qualifications. Indigo was so delicate a plant and needed so much care in preparing the product that negro labor was poorly suited for the work. Cotton had the disadvantage of needing delicate handling at some

seasons; but it had the great staple virtue of keeping the laborers busy nearly all the year in a steady routine. No time of fair weather at any season need be lost in that idleness and unremunerative work which it was the planter's chief business to guard against. In tobacco, the routine season was shorter and the need of painstaking greater; and tobacco accordingly was abandoned by many planters who turned in preference to cotton or sugar. The cultivation of corn and wheat as main crops gave such long rest seasons, necessary to fill by job work in by-industries, that no slaveowning planter could well compete in their production for the market. Small farms abounded in the several southern districts in inverse proportion to the fitness of their soil and their staple for full routine with crude labor. For example, the deep and durable soils of the Mississippi bottoms were more conducive to the use of large gangs in cotton raising than were the rolling lands of the Carolina Piedmont which had only a surface fertility. In the Piedmont there was frequent need of clearing new fields in a process which disturbed the routine; and the uneven character of the land promoted a scattering of fields, which wasted the time of the gangs in going to and coming from work and made effective supervision more difficult. Farmers could there compete in producing the staple with less disadvantage than in the alluvial lands, and small planters could hold their own against the great ones. The piedmont plantations on the whole were accordingly smaller on the average and less formal in system than those in the several lowland districts. That contrasts existed among the numerous frontier areas and types is obvious. The variations were too many and complex to permit of discussion here.

To make fuller the portrayal of southern industrial

society, we include in the volume a selection of documents on mining, manufacturing, handicrafts, wage-earning labor in general, mechanics' societies, town regulations, etc. With a partial exception as regards the yeoman class, the collection may thus stand as fairly illustrative of the whole régime in the English Southern Colonies and the Southern States.

The temper and philosophy of the people were formed chiefly by the combined and interacting influence of the frontier and plantation systems. The frontier had a lasting influence only in its giving a stamp of self reliance and aggressiveness to the character of men. The frontier influence was the more widely extended; for it affected nearly all the country, North and South. The influence of the plantation system and problems was more local and more lasting. The system gave a tone of authority and paternalism to the master class, and of obedience to the servants. The plantation problems, further, affected the whole community; for after the close of the seventeenth century the plantation problem was mainly the negro problem, and that was of vital concern to all members of both races in all districts where the negroes were numerous. The wilderness and the Indians were transient; the staples and the negroes were permanent, and their influence upon the prevailing philosophy became intensified with the lapse of years. It eventually overshadowed the whole South, and forced the great mass of the people to subordinate all other considerations to policies in this one relation. Some of our documents will show the nature and intensity of this influence.

In preparing this collection of documents the policy has been as far as possible to use material combining

three qualities in each instance, rareness, unconsciousness, and faithful illustration. The purpose is to show the most saliently characteristic features of southern industrial society, through the writings not only of contemporaries, but preferably of actual participators who wrote with no expectation that what they wrote would be published. Every experienced student will appreciate the value of "unconsciousness" in a document. Its writer is in general more likely to be simple and faithful to facts and conditions, which he incidentally mentions, than if he had written with a purpose of publishing on the subject. Since the aim of the work is to contribute to knowledge, rareness in the documents has been at a premium in the selection. But the faithfulness of illustration is of course the main consideration. A perfect combination of these three qualities in documents dealing with all the salient features could not be hoped for. Some of the most eloquent material is already in widely accessible print; some of the most faithful descriptions were made with the conscious purpose of portrayal; and some of the rarest and most illuminating documents are descriptive rather of the exceptional than of the average in the types under consideration. Where sacrifice of one element or another has been necessary, the considerations of faithfulness and illumination have been held paramount. In some cases documents already well known to students are used, but on the whole the editor has been unusually fortunate in finding rare and hidden materials of the sort which he has been seeking. His success here is largely a consequence of the unworked nature of the field.

In securing accuracy of reproduction, great care has been exercised. In some cases the verification of copies has been impracticable; but reasonable assurance is

fully justified that no serious errors have crept in. The source of the document and its present location, if in manuscript, are indicated in each instance. No conscious departure from the text of the original has been made, except in two cases where abstracts are presented instead of the language of the documents. These instances are the record of slave trials in Baldwin county, Georgia, and the record of the regulation of negroes by the town corporation of Milledgeville. In preparing a report on Georgia local archives some years ago, the present editor made full abstracts of these records. To secure verbatim copies has not since been practicable. The material is excellently illustrative, and nothing like it is available for our purpose. Hence the exception in its favor.

It has been an aspiration to present through the documents a reasonably full view of southern industrial society. Perfect accomplishment in this could not be hoped for. The mosaic will not fit the pattern, and the bits can be but very lightly trimmed. The crude naturalness of the material is too precious to permit its subordination to any mechanical outline.

The portrayal of the régime by the documents is necessarily uneven. Some features are much better treated than others in the documents which have been found. Some items are thus overemphasized and some neglected. Part of this lack of balance has been intentional. Important features of the régime, which are widely and truly understood already, may here need little demonstration. Other features, perhaps of minor importance, have been forgotten by the world and knowledge of them is here revived. In such cases it is thought well to publish the data more fully, for the sake of both description and proof. An example is the

group of documents evidencing that some free persons of color voluntarily enslaved themselves. Another case, somewhat in the same class, is the material on the industrial phase of the settlement of Texas. All the histories of Texas are curiously wanting in this regard; and space has here been taken from other topics to supply some of the sources. On the subject of small farms, on the other hand, the reader must keep in mind that there is a hiatus in the documents; the farms were an important element in the general situation, though overshadowed in large part by the more striking and distinctive establishments.

In some cases where documents, which describe what the editor judges to be the normal type in a given instance, have not been found, the plan has been followed of printing in that category several documents which, through their diversity in point of view, or through treating different phases, give the reader a chance to fill out a picture of the normal type by the use of his own constructive imagination. This use of the imagination, however, must be made with great caution. The South has already suffered grievously from the conjectures of hit-or-miss writers; and it is partly to reduce the acceptance of such harmful conjectures that this work is intended.

The truthful insight of the editor in his selection of material to show the general features can not of course be guaranteed. The documents in most cases, however, furnish their own warranty. Generalities have mostly been avoided. The great majority of the documents deal concretely, unconsciously, and in evident faithfulness with a special matter with which the writer was concerned in a matter-of-fact way. The facts are simply and plainly stated; and no matter what generaliza-

tions from them may or may not be justified, the facts are what they are. The documents, which exhibit prevalent philosophy and public opinion, are of course more open to question. But the selection of such has been made with distinct caution. The method of the whole work has its obvious limitations of unevenness and incompleteness. The result is fragmentary at best. But the result can not fail to be suggestive, at least, and furnish a basis for true knowledge.

Most of the documents resist any attempt at classification within strict categories. One relating mainly to plantation management, for example, is likely to have items on overseers, slave labor, negro character, factorage, Irish ditching gangs, etc. Documents on migration must deal with matters which might almost as well fall into numerous other categories. Poor whites, again, were a class with vague limits, and whatever its limits, our documents do not quite fit the class as it has existed in the popular imagination. The volumes must be used, with the understanding that the categories are loose as well as broad, and it is safer to use the collection as a whole, or any single document from it, rather than to take the material under any single heading as being at all fully descriptive.

Volume one comprises the following sections:

I. The subject of our first category, "Plantation Management," is necessary as a setting for the conditions of labor and society. The series of plantation regulations belong to a class of material too little known and appreciated. These writings, largely unconscious, are evidently sincere, though the ones which have come to light and are here printed would show, if taken as a description, too idyllic a view of the sys-

tem. What they show in fact is rather the aspirations of the high class planters than the actuality on the average plantation. The next items illustrate the disadvantages from the use of plantation labor in its various aspects as slave labor, negro labor, and gang labor. The advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette*, 1767, is a gem of special value in suggesting an answer to the question what régime could replace the plantation system in case of its abandonment. The Manigault, Cobb and McMichael papers, deal concretely with various aspects of rice and cotton plantation affairs, showing interestingly at times the frame of mind as well as the business affairs of the planters. The section on by-industries illustrates the interest sometimes prevailing in other matters than the staples.

II. Under "Plantation Routine" are given selections from diaries kept by sugar and sea-island cotton planters, showing the organization of labor in the large unit industries.

III. In the absence of adequate "Descriptions" of the topography and equipment of plantations from ordinary sources the advertising columns of newspapers have been chiefly drawn upon.

IV. In the category of "Staples," the documents on method of production relate mainly to rice and sea-island cotton. The concluding section on the excessive interest and reliance of the people upon their staples, illustrated in the case of short-staple cotton, is one of the most important.

V. The items on "Plantation Supplies and Factorage" show the sort of things the planters needed, and point the inconvenience entailed upon communities by the failure to diversify industry.

VI. Among "Plantation Vicissitudes," are indicated

the many emergencies and mishaps which might occur to test the capacity of manager and laborers and perhaps to wreck the establishment.

VII. The documents on "Overseers" are perhaps of a more unfavorable tone than would be typical of the average case. Supplementary items on overseers may be noted in the other categories.

VIII. Of all features of southern industrial history, "Indented Labor" has received the fullest and most satisfactory monographic treatment. The documents here given are illustrative of miscellaneous features.

Volume two comprises the following sections:

IX. On "Slave Labor," the first two documents are general descriptions, the rest are mostly concrete. Special notice should be called to the items, "Slaveholding hard to avoid," "Cases of chronic shirking and trouble-making" and "Slaves' purchase of freedom" (particularly the letter of Billy Proctor).

X. The documents on the "Slave Trade" illustrate in wide variety of items the concrete features of that traffic and the sentiments with which it was regarded. It will be observed that the demand for slave labor fluctuated widely, ranging very low between 1780 and 1800, and rising highest about 1860.

XI. The items on "Fugitive and Stolen Slaves" point out the weakest spots in the whole slaveholding system, the precariousness of slave labor as a form of wealth, the injustice and hardships of slavery when imposed upon the exceptional "person of color," and the failure of the rigid legal system to allow for evolution and readjustment.

XII. In the documents on "Slave Conspiracies and Crime" we have illustration of the necessity, the degree of success and failure, and the results of subjecting

the imported Africans to a tyranny of Anglo-American law and industry. The memorial of the citizens of Charleston, following the discovery of the negro plot in 1822, is of special value.

XIII. The material on "Negro Qualities" deals mainly with the freshly imported Africans, with a brief item pointing the development which the negroes in favorable districts might secure through association with the whites.

XIV. Concerning "Free Persons of Color," the material illustrates the industrial and social status and points the fact of serious limitation upon their actual enjoyment of freedom.

XV. The "Poor Whites" have left no records of their own, and satisfactory concrete evidence regarding them is hard to find. The documents presented, except perhaps that by Stokes, the first of the category, are faithful of their sort.

XVI. The plantation community, where nearly all industry proceeded in fixed routine, was one of special difficulty for the unattached "Immigrant" to enter and establish himself. The problem of race relations, also, was vexatious. The new communities, however, had plenty of room for settlers, and when the price of staples was high, there was strong demand for extra labor. An item of special note is the extensive employment by planters in the eighteen fifties of gangs of Irishmen and Germans for ditching and other heavy and dangerous work, to safeguard the health of the then precious negro slaves.

XVII. The documents on "Migration," dealing mainly with the westward movement of planters, are concrete and clear enough to speak for themselves.

XVIII. On "Frontier Settlement," the documents

show the essential features of the process, and permit many interesting comparisons of the development in different areas and periods.

XIX. In "Frontier Industry," the emphasis is of course upon the requirement of versatility and self-sufficiency.

XX. "Frontier Society," likewise, required self reliance and ability to cope with emergencies. The documents illustrate varied aspects.

XXI. To complete the view of the régime in the Old South, documents are added on the industrial life of the factories and towns. In the "Manufacturing" category, the data relating to the textiles is of chief significance.

XXII. A few items are inserted on "Public Regulation of Industry" to illustrate a tendency which occasionally showed itself. Most of this was in the spirit of conservatism, even of medievalism, and not of progress. As a rule the tone of society was too individualistic to permit of such regulation, except as concerned the labor of negroes.

XXIII. The documents on "Artisans and Town Labor" illustrate the labor demand, labor conditions, and particularly relations between wage-earning whites and the negro labor in the same employments. The mechanics' associations, to which the concluding documents relate, were in most cases not of the nature of trades unions. Trades unions were but sporadic in the South and not characteristic.

I have lived so intimately for so many months with the documents here printed, and others of similar nature, that their substance has become very much a matter-of-course in my mind. The respective significance

and limitations of each item, as I have seen them, have grown so obvious in my view as to need no pointing out. This dulling of the sense of proportion, however, is doubtless not a misfortune; for in the great majority of items, the documents are well able to tell their own story.

A sympathetic understanding of plantation conditions was my inevitable heritage from my family and from neighbors, white and black, in the town of La-Grange and Troup County, Georgia, where I was born and grew up. A deepening appreciation of the historical significance of the plantation and of the preceding frontier régimes I owe to Dr. Frederick J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin, whose constant disciple I have been since 1898. I am indebted also to Dr. William A. Dunning, Dr. Richard T. Ely, Prof. John R. Commons, Dr. Charles McCarthy, Dr. Edward A. Ross, and Dr. Morton A. Aldrich, and to other preceptors and colleagues at Columbia, Wisconsin and Tulane Universities, for direction and encouragement.

The financial support of the American Bureau of Industrial Research has made the assembling of this collection of documents possible.

My remarks prefixed to the separate documents mention only a few of the legion of Southern people who have rendered substantial aid. In addition to those named in that way, I must here make particular mention of my indebtedness to the following: Alfred H. Stone, Esq., of Dunleith, Miss., Hon. Thos. M. Owen of Montgomery, Ala., Miss Julia A. Flisch of Augusta, Ga., W. J. De Renne, Esq., of Wormsloe, Savannah, Ga., Col. A. R. Lawton and William Harden, Esq., both of Savannah, Prof. Yates Snowden of South Carolina College, and Isaac de C. Porcher, Esq., of Pinop-

olis, Berkeley County, S. C. Everywhere I have met with interest and eager hospitality, and the personal contacts, South and North, which the research has occasioned, have combined with the inherent attractiveness of the task to make the pleasure of my work enviable.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS

Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, May 10, 1909

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I. PLANTATION MANAGEMENT

1 STANDARDS OF MANAGERIAL DUTY

(a) *Instructions given by Richard Corbin, Esq., to his agent for the management of his plantations*; Virginia, 1759. MS. in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

MR. JAMES SEMPLE: 1 Jan. 1759.

As it will be necessary to say something to you and to suggest to you my thoughts upon the business you have undertaken, I shall endeavor to be particular & circumstantial.

1st. The care of negroes is the first thing to be recommended that you give me timely notice of their wants that they may be provided with all Necessarys: The Breeding wenches more particularly you must Instruct the Overseers to be Kind and Indulgent to, and not force them when with Child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to them & that they have every necessary when in that condition that is needful for them, and the children to be well looked after and to give them every Spring & Fall the Jerusalem Oak seed for a week together & that none of them suffer in time of sickness for want of proper care.

Observe a prudent and watchful conduct over the overseers that they attend their business with diligence, keep the negroes in good order, and enforce obedience by the example of their own industry, which is a more effectual method in every respect of succeeding and making good crops than Hurry & Severity; The ways of industry are constant and regular, not to be in a

hurry at one time and do nothing at another, but to be always usefully and steadily employed. A man who carries on business in this manner will be prepared for every incident that happens. He will see what work may be proper at the distance of some time and be gradually & leisurely providing for it, by this foresight he will never be in confusion himself and his business instead of a labor will be a pleasure to him.

2nd. Next to the care of negroes is the care of stock & supposing the necessary care taken, I shall only here mention the use to be made of them for the improvement of the Tobo [i.e., tobacco] Grounds, Let them be constantly and regularly Pend. Let the size of the Pens be 1000 Tobo Hills for 100 Cattle, and so in proportion for a Greater or less Quantity, and the Pens moved once a week. By this practise steadily pursued a convenient quantity of land may be provided at Moss's neck without clearing, and as I intend this seat of land to be a settlement for one of my sons, I would be very sparing of the woods, and that piece of woods that lies on the left hand of the Ferry Road must not be cut down on any account. A proper use of the cattle will answer every purpose of making Tobo without the disturbance too commonly made of the Timber land & as you will see this Estate once a Fortnight, you may easily discover if they have been neglectful of Pening the Cattle and moving the Cowpens.

Take an exact account of all the Negroes & Stocks at each Plantation and send to me; & Tho once a year may be sufficient to take this account yet it will be advisable to see them once a month at least; as such an Inspection will fix more closely the overseers' attentions to these points. As complaints have been made by the negroes in respect to their provision of Corn, I

must desire you to put that matter under such a Regulation as your own Prudence will dictate to you; The allowance to be Sure is Plentiful and they ought to have their Belly full but care must be taken with this Plenty that no waste is Committed; You must let Hampton know that the care of the Negroes' corn, sending it to mill, always to be provided with meal that every one may have enough & that regularly and at stated times, this is a duty as much incumbent upon him as any other. As the corn at Moss's neck is always ready money it will not be advisable to be at much Expense in raising Hogs: the shattered corn will probably be enough for this purpose. When I receive your Acct of the spare corn At Moss's Neck and Richland which I hope will be from King and Queen Court, I shall give orders to Col. Tucker to send for it.

Let me be acquainted with every incident that happens & Let me have timely notice of everything that is wanted, that it may be provided. To employ the Fall & Winter well is the foundation of a successful Crop in the Summer: You will therefore Animate the overseers to great diligence that their work may be in proper forwardness and not have that to do in the Spring that ought to be done in the Winter: there is Business sufficient for every Season of the year and to prevent the work of one Season from interfering with the work of Another depends upon the care of the overseer.

The time of sowing Tobo seed, the order the Plant Patch ought to be in, & the use of the Wheat Straw I have not touched upon, it being too obvious to be overlooked.

Supposing the Corn new laid & the Tobo ripe for Housing: To cut the Corn Tops and gather the blades

in proper time is included under the care of Cattle, their Preservation in the Winter depending upon Good Fodder. I shall therefore confine myself to Tobo. Tobo hhds should always be provided the 1st week in September; every morning of the month is fit for striking & strip[p]ing; every morning therefore of this month they should strike as much Tobo as they can strip whilst the Dew is upon the Ground, and what they strip in the morning must be stemd in the Evening: this method Constantly practised, the Tobacco will be all prised before Christmas, weigh well, and at least one hhd in Ten gained by finishing the Tobo thus early. You shall never want either for my advice or assistance. These Instructions will hold good for Poplar Neck & Portobacco & perhaps Spotsylvania too.

I now send my two Carpenters Mack & Abram to Mosses Neck to build a good barn, mend up the Quarters & get as many staves and heading as will be sufficient for next years Tobo hhds; I expect they will compleat the whole that is necessary upon that Estate by the last of March. . .

(b) *Rules for plantation management on a Cotton estate in the Mississippi Bottoms. Instructions given to his overseers by J. W. Fowler of Coahoma county, Miss.* MS. in the possession of John W. Stovall, Stovall, Miss.

State of Mississippi, Coahoma County, near Friars Point, A. D. 1857.

The health, happiness, good discipline and obedience; good, sufficient and comfortable clothing, a sufficiency of good wholesome and nutritious food for both man and beast being indispensably necessary to successful planting, as well as for reasonable dividends for the amount of capital invested, without saying anything about the Master's duty to his dependants, to himself

and his God – I do hereby establish the following rules and regulations for the management of my Prairie Plantation, and require an observance of the same by any and all Overseers I may at any time have in charge thereof to wit: –

Punishment must never be cruel or abusive, for it is absolutely mean and unmanly to whip a negro from mere passion or malice, and any man who can do this is entirely unworthy and unfit to have control of either man or beast.

My negroes are permitted to come to me with their complaints and grievances and in no instance shall they be punished for so doing. On examination, should I find they have been cruelly treated, it shall be considered a good and sufficient cause for the immediate discharge of the Overseer.

Prove and show by your conduct toward the negroes that you feel a kind and considerate regard for them. Never cruelly punish or overwork them, never require them to do what they cannot reasonably accomplish or otherwise abuse them, but seek to render their situation as comfortable and contented as possible.

See that their necessities are supplied, that their food and clothing be good and sufficient, their houses comfortable; and be kind and attentive to them in sickness and old age.

See that the negroes are regularly fed and that their food be wholesome, nutritious and well cooked.

See that they keep themselves well cleaned: at least once a week (especially during summer) inspect their houses and see that they have been swept clean, examine their bedding and see that they are occasionally well aired; their clothes mended and everything attended to that conduces to their health, comfort and happiness.

If any of the negroes have been reported sick, be prompt to see what ails them and that proper medicine and attention be given them. Use good judgment and discretion in turning out those who are getting well.

I greatly desire that the Gospel be preached to the Negroes when the services of a suitable person can be procured. This should be done on the Sabbath; day time is preferable, if convenient to the Minister.

Christianity, humanity and order elevate all – injure none – whilst infidelity, selfishness and disorder curse some – delude others and degrade all. I therefore want all of my people encouraged to cultivate religious feeling and morality, and punished for inhumanity to their children or stock – for profanity, lying and stealing.

All hands should be required to retire to rest and sleep at a suitable hour and permitted to remain there until such time as it will be necessary to get out in time to reach their work by the time they can see well how to work – particularly so when the nights are short and the mornings very cold and inclement.

Allow such as may desire it a suitable piece of ground to raise potatoes, tobacco. They may raise chickens also with privileges of marketing the same at suitable leisure times.

There being a sufficient number of negroes on the plantation for society among themselves, they are not to be allowed to go off the plantation merely to seek society, nor on business without a permit from myself or the Overseer in charge – nor are other negroes allowed to visit the plantation.

After taking proper care of the negroes, stock, etc. the next most important duty of the Overseer is to make (if practicable) a sufficient quantity of corn, hay, fodder, meat, potatoes and other vegetables for the con-

sumption of the plantation and then as much cotton as can be made by requiring good and reasonable labor of operatives and teams.

Have a proper and suitable place for everything and see that everything is kept in its proper place, all tools when not in use should be well cleaned and put away.

Let the cotton be well dried before cleaning it. Be sure the seed put up for planting are well dried and a sufficient quantity saved to plant the farm two or three times over; and will suggest the propriety of sending a few trustworthy hands ahead of the regular pickers to gather from the early opening – where the plant is well supplied with bolls – for seed for planting the ensueing year; in this way by gathering sufficient quantity every year to plant twenty or twenty five acres we shall be able to keep up a supply of the best and most approved Seed – nor should there be less care observed in selecting the Seed corn from the crib.

I would that every human being have the gospel preached to them in its original purity and simplicity; it therefore devolves upon me to have these dependants properly instructed in all that pertains to the salvation of their souls; to this and whenever the services of a suitable person can be secured, have them instructed in these things – in view of the fanaticism of the age it behooves the Master or Overseer to be present on all such occasions. They should be instructed on Sundays in the day time if practicable, if not then on Sunday night.

J. W. FOWLER.

(c) Rules on the Rice Estate of P. C. Weston; South Carolina, 1856. De Bow's *Review* (Jan., 1857), vol. xxi, 38-44.

[It is characteristic of the coast district of South Carolina and Georgia (the rice district) that the work was assigned in individual tasks, instead of being done in

the gang system which prevailed in all the other plantation districts.]

The Proprietor, in the first place, wishes the Overseer most distinctly to understand that his first object is to be, under all circumstances, the care and well being of the negroes. The Proprietor is always ready to excuse such errors as may proceed from want of judgment; but he never can or will excuse any cruelty, severity, or want of care towards the negroes. For the well being, however, of the negroes, it is absolutely necessary to maintain obedience, order, and discipline; to see that the tasks are punctually and carefully performed, and to conduct the business steadily and firmly, without weakness on the one hand, or harshness on the other. For such ends the following regulations have been instituted:

Lists – Tickets. – The names of all the men are to be called over every Sunday morning and evening, from which none are to be absent but those who are sick, or have tickets. When there is evening Church, those who attend are to be excused from answering. At evening list, every negro must be clean and well washed. No one is to be absent from the place without a ticket, which is always to be given to such as ask it, and have behaved well. All persons coming from the Proprietor's other places should show their tickets to the Overseer, who should sign his name on the back; those going off the plantation should bring back their tickets signed. The Overseer is every now and then to go round at night and call at the houses, so as to ascertain whether their inmates are at home.

Allowance – Food. – Great care should be taken that the negroes should never have less than their regular allowance: in all cases of doubt, it should be given in

favor of the largest quantity. The measures should not be *struck*, but rather heaped up over. None but provisions of the best quality should be used. If any is discovered to be damaged, the Proprietor, if at hand, is to be immediately informed; if absent, the damaged article is to be destroyed. The corn should be carefully winnowed before grinding. The small rice is apt to become sour: as soon as this is perceived it should be given out every meal until finished, or until it becomes too sour to use, when it should be destroyed.

Work, Holidays, &c. – No work of any sort or kind is to be permitted to be done by negroes on Good Friday, or Christmas day, or on any Sunday, except going for a Doctor, or nursing sick persons; any work of this kind done on any of these days is to be reported to the Proprietor, who will pay for it. The two days following Christmas day; the first Saturdays after finishing threshing, planting, hoeing, and harvest, are also to be holidays, on which the people may work for themselves. Only half task is to be done on every Saturday, except during planting and harvest, and those who have misbehaved or been lying up during the week. A task is as much work as the meanest full hand can do in nine hours, working industriously. The Driver is each morning to point out to each hand their task, and this task is never to be increased, and no work is to be done over task except under the most urgent necessity; which over-work is to be reported to the Proprietor, who will pay for it. No negro is to be put into a task which they cannot finish with tolerable ease. It is a bad plan to punish for not finishing task; it is subversive of discipline to leave tasks unfinished, and contrary to justice to punish for what cannot be done. In nothing does a good manager so much excel a bad, as in being able to

discern what a hand is capable of doing, and in never attempting to make him do more.

No negro is to leave his task until the driver has examined and approved it, he is then to be permitted immediately to go home; and the hands are to be encouraged to finish their tasks as early as possible, so as to have time for working for themselves. Every negro, except the sickly ones and those with suckling children, (who are to be allowed half an hour,) are to be on board the flat by sunrise. One driver is to go down to the flat early, the other to remain behind and bring on all the people with him. He will be responsible for all coming down. The barn-yard bell will be rung by the watchman two hours, and half an hour, before sunrise.

Punishments. – It is desirable to allow 24 hours to elapse between the discovery of the offence, and the punishment. No punishment is to exceed 15 lashes: in cases where the Overseer supposes a severer punishment necessary, he must apply to the Proprietor, or to ———, Esq., in case of the Proprietor's absence from the neighborhood. Confinement (not in the stocks) is to be preferred to whipping: but the stoppage of Saturday's allowance, and doing whole task on Saturday, will suffice to prevent ordinary offences. Special care must be taken to prevent any indecency in punishing women. No Driver, or other negro, is to be allowed to punish any person in any way, except by order of the Overseer, and in his presence.

Flats, Boats, &c. – All the flats, except those in immediate use, should be kept under cover, and sheltered from the sun. Every boat must be locked up every evening and the keys taken to the Overseer. No negro will be allowed to keep a boat.

Sickness. – All sick persons are to stay in the hospital night and day, from the time they first complain to the time they are able to go to work again. The nurses are to be responsible for the sick not leaving the house, and for the cleanliness of the bedding, utensils, &c. The nurses are never to be allowed to give any medicine without the orders of the Overseer or Doctor. A woman, beside the plantation nurse, must be put to nurse all persons seriously ill. In all cases at all serious the Doctor is to be sent for, and his orders are to be strictly attended to; no alteration is to be made in the treatment he directs. Lying-in women are to be attended by the midwife as long as is necessary, and by a woman put to nurse them for a fortnight. They will remain at the negro houses for 4 weeks, and then will work 2 weeks on the highland. In some cases, however, it is necessary to allow them to lie up longer. The health of many women has been entirely ruined by want of care in this particular. Women are sometimes in such a state as to render it unfit for them to work in water; the Overseer should take care of them at these times. The pregnant women are always to do some work up to the time of their confinement, if it is only walking into the field and staying there. If they are sick, they are to go to the hospital, and stay there until it is pretty certain their time is near.

Nourishing food is to be provided for those who are getting better. The Overseer will keep an account of the articles he purchases for this purpose, during the Proprietor's absence, which he will settle for as soon as he returns.

Bleeding is under all circumstances strictly prohibited, except by order of the Doctor. – The Overseer is particularly warned not to give strong medicine, such

as calomel, or tartar emetic; simple remedies such as flax-seed tea, mintwater, No. 6, magnesia, &c., are sufficient for most cases, and do less harm. Strong medicines should be left to the Doctor; and since the Proprietor never grudges a Doctor's bill, however large, he has a right to expect that the Overseer shall always send for the Doctor when a serious case occurs. Dr. ——— is the Physician of the place. When he is absent, Dr. ———. Great care must be taken to prevent persons from lying up when there is nothing or little the matter with them. Such must be turned out immediately; and those somewhat sick can do lighter work, which encourages industry. Nothing is so subversive of discipline, or so unjust, as to allow people to sham, for this causes the well-disposed to do the work of the lazy. . .

Duties of Officials. – Drivers are, under the Overseer, to maintain discipline and order on the place. They are to be responsible for the quiet of the negro-houses, for the proper performance of tasks, for bringing out the people early in the morning, and generally for the immediate inspection of such things as the Overseer only generally superintends. For other duties of Driver, see article Work.

Watchmen are to be responsible for the safety of the buildings, boats, flats, and fences, and that no cattle or hogs come inside the place. If he perceives any buildings or fences out of repair, or if he hears of any robberies or trespasses, he must immediately give the Overseer notice. He must help to kill hogs and beeves.

Trunk-minders undertake the whole care of the trunks, [i.e., sluice-valves] under the Proprietor's and Overseer's directions. Each has a boat to himself, which he must on no account let any body else use.

Nurses are to take care of the sick, and to be respon-

sible for the fulfilment of the orders of the Overseer, or Doctor, (if he be in attendance.) The food of the sick will be under their charge. They are expected to keep the hospital floors, bedding, blankets, utensils, &c., in perfect cleanliness. Wood should be allowed them. Their assistants should be entirely under their control. When the Proprietor and Overseer are absent, and a serious case occurs, the nurse is to send for the Doctor.

Yard Watchman is responsible for the crop in the yard, and for the barns.

Cooks take every day the provisions for all the people, the sick only excepted, (see article *Allowance.*) The Overseer is particularly requested to see that they cook cleanly and well. One cook cooks on the Island, the other on the Main, for the carpenters, millers, highland hands, &c.

The child's cook cooks for the children at the negro-houses; she ought to be particularly looked after, so that the children should not eat anything unwholesome.

Miscellaneous Observations. – The Proprietor wishes particularly to impress on the Overseer the criterions by which he will judge of his usefulness and capacity. *First* – by the general well-being of all the negroes; their cleanly appearance, respectful manners, active and vigorous obedience; their completion of their tasks well and early; the small amount of punishment; the excess of births over deaths; the small number of persons in hospital, and the health of the children. *Secondly* – the condition and fatness of the cattle and mules; the good repair of all the fences and buildings, harness, boats, flats, and ploughs; more particularly the good order of the banks and trunks, and the freedom of the fields from grass and volunteer. *Thirdly* – the amount and quality of the rice and provision crops.

The Overseer will fill up the printed forms sent to him every week, from which the Proprietor will obtain most of the facts he desires, to form the estimate mentioned above.

The Overseer is expressly prohibited from three things viz: bleeding, giving spirits to any negro without a Doctor's order, and letting any negro on the place have or keep any gun, powder, or shot. . .

Women with six children alive at any *one* time, are allowed all Saturday to themselves.

Fighting, particularly amongst women, and obscene, or abusive language, is to be always rigorously punished.

During the summer, fresh spring water must be carried every day on the Island. Any body found drinking ditch or river water must be punished.

Finally. – The Proprietor hopes the Overseer will remember that a system of strict justice is necessary to good management. No person should ever be allowed to break a law without being punished, or any person punished who has not broken a well known law. Every person should be made perfectly to understand what they are punished for, and should be made to perceive that they are not punished in anger, or through caprice. All abusive language or violence of demeanor should be avoided: they reduce the man who uses them to a level with the negro, and are hardly ever forgotten by those to whom they are addressed.

(d) *Contract between Charles Manigault and his overseer, S. F. Clark, for the year 1853, Chatham county, Georgia.* [The document was evidently drafted by the employer.] MS. in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

[The plantations to be overseen by Clark according to this contract were East Hermitage and Gowrie, to which later documents in this collection also relate.]

The following agreement is hereby made and concluded between Charles Manigault and Stephen F. Clark for the year 1853.

I, Stephen F. Clark hereby undertake to manage to the best of my abilities the two Plantations on Argyle Island (which are now joined into one) comprising about 500 acres of Rice land, all of which is to be planted in Rice and I will devote all my experience and exertions to attend to all Mr. Manigault's interests and Plantation concerns according to his wishes and instructions and as most conducive to his interest and to the comfort and welfare of his Negroes. I will treat them all with kindness and consideration in sickness and in health. I will be at both settlements every day, and supervise all that is going on at each place, and attend personally to giving out allowance every Sunday morning and see to all other things myself. I will put the banks and lands etc., of his plantation in the best possible order so as to have every branch of it in such a secure and forward state as to give the best hopes of success, with a view of planting, bullwarking, harvesting, placing safely and securely in the Barn yard, threshing (by steam or otherwise) milling and sending away such a crop as his Plantation ought to produce under good management and my best personal attendance to all things. I will never work his Negroes off the Place, no lending and borrowing of hands being permitted by Mr. Manigault. I will keep the Flats and other things in good repair and will never lend out his flat or other boat or any thing belonging to his Plantation and never send either away unless there is absolute necessity for it. Mr. Manigault never borrows or lends if he can help it and hereby instructs Mr. Clark to write to Messrs. Habersham & Son for any thing which in his judgment Mr. Manigault's Plantation stands in

need of. I will take special care to keep the Carpenters constantly employed in the most useful and necessary Plantation works, and when work is slack with them I will put them at the old and new Wharf, etc., or to caulking and repairing Flats Etc. I will attend to the Steam Thresher and Rice Mill as far as lays in my power and see that the measurements of rough rice and the delivery of it and of barrels of clean rice from Mill for market be all properly attended to and written down and I will have a close supervision, but at the same time be careful not to interfere too much with the beating and management of the Rice Mill in cases where I am unacquainted with such machinery and the working of it, as the Negroes in charge have much experience therein. In case of accident I will use all my energy to have it repaired in Savannah as soon as possible. There being no Physician engaged on the place I will provide myself with a good book of Medical instruction and be careful to have at hand the few requisite Plantation Medicines and I will attend myself to mixing and instructing the nurses how to administer them. And in the event of any serious accident resulting in the fracture of a limb, I will place the patient on a door in the fastest boat I can command and immediately send him to Savannah to be conveyed on the door by the boat hands and placed in the care of Dr. Bullock or at his Hospital. I engage to keep neither Horse, Hog or Poultry of any kind on Mr. Manigault's Plantation. I am to be supplied (solely for myself and family) with Plantation provisions consisting only of Corn and small Rice, all other provision and supplies for myself I am to procure at my own expense. I am to have a woman exclusively devoted to washing and cooking for me, she being the only person belonging to the Plantation that I

am to give any call or occupation to whatever for any of my household affairs, she never to be a field hand. I am also to be provided with a boy to wait on me and to go to the new Ground to cut wood from any logs or stumps for my fire wood. I will endeavour to prevent any one trespassing on Mr. Manigault's Island in wood opposite Mr. Legare's Plantation, by forbidding any one whatever cutting the wood or digging and flatting mud from it. Mr. Manigault's row boat being kept solely for his own use, with its oars &c. is always to be placed carefully in the Mill during his absence. I shall always prefer transacting any business I have with Savannah by letter sent by a boy in a canoe. Whenever a hard storm of rain sets in and does not clear off towards the afternoon, unless the people are at some very pressing and important work Mr. Manigault wishes me to call them in to their houses for the rest of the rainy stormy afternoon, and Mr. Manigault wishes the Driver to be told this, so that should the Overseer not be present with them the Driver can act accordingly and bring the people home, for Mr. Manigault's long experience is that always after a complete wetting particularly in cold rainy weather, in winter or spring one or more of them are made sick and lie up, and at times serious illness ensues. Mr. Manigault wishes Mr. Clark to sell for him all the Rice flour made in his Mill to any one in small or large quantities, always and to every one *for cash* and should Mr. Clark be induced on any occasion to give credit to any one it must be at his own risk, and my account with Mr. Clark must be credited with the amount. . .

To all of which terms I, Stephen F. Clark hereby agree and bind myself to conform to it in every respect, and on my fulfilling all that I hereby agree to in the

above agreement then and in that case Mr. Charles Manigault hereby binds himself to pay me for my aforenamed services at and after the rate of Five Hundred Dollars pr annum for this present year and at the same rate for any portion of the year that I may continue in his services. S. F. CLARK – CHARLES MANIGAULT.

(e) Instructions by Alexander Telfair, of Savannah, Ga., to the overseer of his plantation near Augusta, dated June 11, 1832. MS. in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah.

Rules and directions for my Thorn Island Plantation by which my overseers are to govern themselves in the management of it.– ALEXANDER TELFAIR.

(The directions in this book are to be strictly attended to.)

1 The allowance for every grown Negro however old and good for nothing, and every young one that works in the field, is a peck of corn each week, and a pint of salt, and a piece of meat, not exceeding fourteen pounds, per month.

2 No Negro to have more than Fifty lashes inflicted for any offence, no matter how great the crime.

3 The sucking children, and all other small ones who do not work in the field, draw a half allowance of corn and salt.

4 You will give tickets to any of the negroes who apply for them, to go any where about the neighborhood, but do not allow them to go off it without, nor suffer any strange negroes to come on it without a pass.

5 The negres to be tasked when the work allows it. I require a reasonable days work, well done – the task to be regulated by the state of the ground and the strength of the negro.

6 The cotton to be weighed every night and the weights set down in the Cotton Book. The product of

each field to be set down separately – as also the produce of the different corn fields.

7 You will keep a regular journal of the business of the plantation, setting down the names of the sick; the beginning, progress, and finishing of work; the state of the weather; Births, Deaths, and every thing of importance that takes place on the Plantation.

8 You are responsible for the conduct of all persons who visit you. All others found on the premises who have no business, you will take means to run off.

9 Feed every thing plentifully, but waste nothing.

10 The shade trees in the present clearings are not to be touched; and in taking in new ground, leave a thriving young oak or Hickory Tree to every Five Acres.

11 When picking out cotton, do not allow the hands to pull the Boles off the Stalk.

12 All visiting between this place and the one in Georgia is forbidden, except with Tickets from the respective overseers, and that but very seldom. There are none who have husbands or wives over there, and no connexions of the kind are to be allowed to be formed.

13 No night-meeting and preaching to be allowed on the place, except on Saturday night & Sunday morn.

14 Elsey is allowed to act as midwife, to black and white in the neighborhood, who send for her. One of her daughters to stay with the children and take charge of her business until she returns. She draws a peck of corn a week to feed my poultry with.

15 All the Land which is not planted, you will break up in the month of September. Plough it deep so as to turn in all the grass and weeds which it may be covered with.

16 If there is any fighting on the Plantation, whip all engaged in it – for no matter what the cause may have been, all are in the wrong.

17 Elsey is the Doctoress of the Plantation. In case of extraordinary illness, when she thinks she can do no more for the sick, you will employ a Physician.

18 My Cotton is packed in Four & a half yard Bags, weighing each 300 pounds, and the rise of it.

19 Neither the Cotton nor Corn stalks to be burnt, but threshed and chopped down in every field on the plantation, and suffered to lie until ploughed in in the course of working the land.

20 Billy to do the Blacksmith work.

20 [sic] The trash and stuff about the settlement to be gathered in heaps, in broken, wet days to rot; in a word make manure of every thing you can.

21 A Turnip Patch to be planted every year for the use of the Plantation.

22 The Negroes measures for Shoes to be sent down with the name written on each, by my Raft hands, or any other certain conveyance, to me, early in October. All draw shoes, except the children, and those that nurse them.

23 Write me the last day of every month to Savannah, unless otherwise directed. When writing have the Journal before you, and set down in the Letter every thing that has been done, or occurred on the Plantation during the month.

24 Pease to be planted in all the Corn, and plenty sowed for seed.

25 When Picking Cotton in the Hammock and Hickory Ridge, weigh the Tasks in the field, and hawl the Cotton home in the Wagon.

26 The first picking of Cotton to be depended on for seed. Seed sufficient to plant two Crops to be saved,

and what is left, not to be thrown out of the Gin House, until you clean it out before beginning to pick out the new Crop.

27 A Beef to be killed for the negroes in July, August and September. The hides to be tanned at home if you understand it, or put out to be tanned on shares.

28 A Lot to be planted in Rye in September, and seed saved every year. The Cow pens to be moved every month to tread the ground for this purpose.

29 When a Beef is killed, the Fifth quarter except the hide to be given to Elsey for the children.

30 Give the negroes nails when building or repairing their houses when you think they need them.

31 My Negroes are not allowed to plant Cotton for themselves. Every thing else they may plant, and you will give them tickets to sell what they make.

32 I have no Driver. You are to task the negroes yourself, and each negro is responsible to you for his own work, and nobodys else.

33 The Cotton Bags to be marked A. T. and numbered.

34 I leave my Plantation Shot Gun with you.

35 The Corn and Cotton stalks to be cut, and threshed down on the land which lies out to rest, the same as if it was to be planted.

(f) *Practical rules for the management and medical treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies.* By a Professional Planter (London, 1803). Extract from chap. viii, on discipline.
[The book was a West Indian product.]

Negroes should be so well treated, as not to be compelled to transgress by the urgency of their wants; in which case, your discipline cannot be too exact, for you will find even the happiness of your slave to depend on a regular maintenance of authority. You cannot resign him to the guidance of his own discretion, but, like a

soldier in the ranks, he must be a mere machine, without either will or motion, other than you impress upon him.

The basis of this discipline must consist in accustoming your negroes to an absolute submission to orders; for if you suffer them to disobey in one instance, they will do so in another; and thus an independence of spirit will be acquired, that will demand repeated punishment to suppress it, and to re-establish your relaxed authority. You should, therefore, lay it down as a rule, never to suffer your commands to be disputed; and, at the same time, you should take care to give none but what are reasonable and proper; for negroes are penetrating enough into the foibles of their masters. If you have any, you should conceal them, and endeavor by all means, to impress them with a good opinion of your temper and judgment.

If your negroes are properly managed, as recommended in the preceding chapters, you will have the pleasure of finding their offences comparatively very few, a great part of those which they commit, proceeding from a penury of food, and exhausted strength, which leads them to pilfer, and to skulk from their labors. Negroes, however, like other human beings, possess diversities of temper, and the best treatment you can give them, will not always prevent them from offending to a degree that will call for chastisement.

2 THE INCONVENIENCE OF A RIGID LABOR SUPPLY

Letter to Robert Carter of Nomoni Hall, Virginia, 1785, from his overseer. MS. in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, Carter Papers.

Coale's point June 23d 1785.

Hon Sir: the Draft oxen heare is so Deficiant I Cant Drive More then two plowes and them not to plow more then two thousand Corn hills Each per day which

is But half as much as a plow aught to plow, I have one hundred and sixty thousand Corn hills that aught to be plowed and Eighty of it very grasse and also sixty thousand Tobo. hills an fore Ds of Cotten which wants working at this time and hoes is Chefe my Dependanc I hope your Hon will gudg from this what Chanc I have of getting my Crop Clean without the assistance of more Teem or hands, if it lies in your Honers power to help me now it will be much to your advantage, for the Spring has bin so very wet an want of teem that I am much in the grass.

3 SOIL WASTAGE, TYPICAL

Extract discussing the prevailing system of agriculture, from John L. Williams's *The Territory of Florida* (1837).

. . . The course commenced in Florida is the same that has generally been pursued, in all the slave holding states, north of us. A course which has destroyed the native fertility of the soil, from the Chesapeake Bay to the St. Mary's river, with few exceptions. The object has been to cultivate as much land and with as few hands as possible. To exhaust the soil and turn it common, and then to remove and pursue the same course again, upon new land. It is really to be hoped that in future, some system may be adopted which may tend not only to preserve, but to improve the soil we cultivate. Near the sea coast we have boundless means in the sea weed and marsh mud, to improve our lands; and facts abundantly demonstrate, that it is much less expensive to preserve the fertility of a good soil by manuring it, than to clear up new and heavy timbered lands. Besides it is something to preserve the fruits that we have planted, and the improvements that we have made in early life, or those which we have received from our ancestors. Besides, we are approaching the limits of

our peregrinations, unless we fly off in a western tangent; and it will be a long journey in that direction which will bring us to good uncultivated lands. . .

4 SOIL PRESERVATION, EXCEPTIONAL

Editorial from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Apr. 23, 1850, on the preservation of broken lands. The surprise and enthusiasm of the writer at finding a planter who, by horizontal plowing and hillside ditching, prevented the washing of his soil away, indicates by contrast the careless practices followed by the neighboring planters and farmers.

. . . Two questions present themselves: – one is, could this desolation have been prevented? and the other, can it be repaired or modified? A few days since, in common with the great mass of agriculturists in Georgia, we should have answered both of these questions in the negative. A recent visit, however, to our friend Gen. Tarver in Twiggs County, and a minute examination of his plantations in the vicinity of his residence, have materially changed our opinion. His lands there are as hilly and broken as any of the table lands of Georgia; yet upon none cleared within the last few years was there a single gully or red hill to be seen, and what is more, none will ever be seen, as long as his present system is practiced. He has not only succeeded in rendering secure and permanent his fresh land, but has also taken fields abandoned by their former owners, and which are trenched by gullies thirty and twenty feet wide and as many deep, and whose hillsides have been too poor to yield the poorest grasses, and he is resuscitating and restoring them to a condition in which they will again be productive, filling up the gullies, and by a process that is as simple and economical as it is successful.

All who know Gen. Tarver, know that he is one of the largest and most successful planters in the South.

He indulges in no theory that will not by its practical results commend itself. The system by which he has perfected such wonders is simply in his fresh lands so to conduct the water by trenches as to prevent washing, and in his old land so to conduct it as to accomplish this end and at the same time to repair the washes occasioned by the former rush of the water. Before we had examined Gen. Tarver's plantation we had read much about and seen something of, hillside ditches and circular plowing, but had no conception of what could be accomplished by either the one or the other. His successful experiments have enlisted the admiration of his neighbors and all who have noticed them. He has demonstrated the truth and practicability of the theory that he has practiced; and if, as it has been said, he is a public benefactor, who can cause two straws to grow where before but one grew, Gen. Tarver is entitled to that epitaph. None can visit his Twiggs plantation without being forcibly struck with what Georgia would now be, had her lands been tilled by such agriculturists, or what she would yet be, were they under the control of men of his energy and practical skill. . .

5 BREAKDOWN OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM IN THE CEREAL PRODUCING AREA

Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), Oct. 22, 1767. Advertisement for a "riding boss" (in modern southern parlance), to manage a scattered slave peasantry.

WANTED SOON . . . A Farmer, who will undertake the management of about 80 slaves, all settled within six miles of each other, to be employed in making of grain. Any such, well recommended, will meet with encouragement by applying to Mr. John Mercer in Stafford, or to the subscriber in Williamsburg, during the sitting of the present General Court.

JAMES MERCER.

6 RECORDS OF A RICE PLANTATION

Extracts from the plantation records of Louis Manigault, 1833-1860, owner of the Gowrie and East Hermitage estates, operated as one plantation, on Argyle Island, Georgia, on Savannah River twelve miles above the city of Savannah. MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

(A) GENERAL STATEMENT FOR 1833-1839.

I purchased my Savannah River Plantation, Jany, 1833, 220 Acres cleared, 80 uncleared & a fine Rice mill & 50 Negroes for $40,000., viz: the Negroes at $300. each = $15,000. The place $25,000.

I have now April, 1839, Planted & sold six crops.

Sent to market in	1833	I made	200 Bbls.
	1834	"	380
	1835	"	294
	1836	"	389
	1837	"	404
	1838	"	578
			2245
During these years I made at my mill by Toll			70
			2315
Also during these six years I made, but did not sell, Dirty Rice			50
			2365
My crop this last year averages $4 pr. 100 But I take $3. as a liberal average for the last six years [2]		3.x 6	18.
			18920
			2365
			42570.
I estimate my Expenses at $2000. per an. for 6 years			12000.
Revenue during six years		Dollars	30570.

[2] Barrels of rice contained six hundred pounds each. – Ed.

My crop planted last year by 35 hands on 193 Acres produced of Rice 578 Bbls, average sale $4.x 6=	$13,872.00
Also 433 1/2 Bushels Small Rice or 3 Pecks to each Barrel of Whole Rice at $2. pr. Bush.	867.00
Also 200 Bushels of Peas planted on 16 acres	200.00
And I sold Rice flour from my Mill for	300.00
	15,239.00

But I gave my Negroes the small rice worth $2.50 per bush. instead of Corn which I could have bought for $1.00 per bush.

Cost of Negroes pr. annum each grown hand	
52 Pecks corn, 13 Bushels, at $1. =	13.
Winter and Summer Clothes	7.
Shoes	1.
	$21.

Doctor's Bill
Meat, at times.
Salt, Molasses.

Negroes at Gowrie, April, 1839

Harry (Driver)	Amey	Young Ned
Stephen (Miller)	Minty	Little Lucy
Bina	Rihna	Hanna
London (child)	Billy (child)	Polly (child)
Charles	Scotland (child)	Susey
Juna	Bina (nurse)	Martha (child)
Nelly (child)	Sampson	Betsey
Nat (Heargrove's child)	Kasina	Peggy (child)
Betsey	Benty (purchased Feb'y, 1837)	Fortune
Paul (born March, 1839)	Chalotte (do.)	Joaney
Matty	Sam (child)	Catey
George (Cooper)	Jenny (child)	Matty
Peggy	Scipio	Chloe
Jack	Big Lucy	Mary (cook)
Tommy	Ned (trunk minder)	Abram
	Julia	Rachel (cook to overseer)

Jacob	Sam (cooper)	Hector
Nancy	Moses	Little Charles
Bob	Maria	
Binkey	Nanny	

Negroes Bought Feby, 1839

Brave Boy, Carpenter, 40 years old
Phillis, his wife, 35
Pompey, Phillis's son, 18
Jack B. Boy & Phillis's son, 16
Chloe child do do
Primus B. Boy's son, 21
Cato Child, B. Boy's son
Jenny (Blind) B. Boy's mother
Nelly's husband in town, 30
Betty, her sister's child who died – child
Affey Nelly's child,– child, 11
Louisa her sister's child who is dead – child, 10
Sarah, Nelly's child, 8
Jack, Nelly's carpenter boy, 18
Ishmel, Nelly's, 16
Lappo Phillis & Brave Boy's, 19

I paid cash for these 16 Negroes, $640. each — $10,240.00

(B) LISTS OF NEGROES, 1857.

List of Negroes at Gowrie, this 30th April, 1857

George (Driver)	Charles (Trunk Minder)	Hector (Captain, Chief boat Hand)
Betty	Juna	Joaney
Nat	Jack (Short)	Tyrah
Simon, and Polly (In house)	Louisa	How-qua
	Mendoza	Fortune, Old (Plantation Cook)
Captain (Chimney Sweeper)	Elizabeth & Rebecca (Infants, 3 weeks)	Betsey (Carpenter's Cook, Nurse)
Minda	Scotland	Cato
Mathias	Tommy	Jack Savage (Head Carpenter)
Julia	Catherine	
Rhina	Phillis	

Amey and Mary
Harry (With Carpenters)
John Izard (Engineer and Carpenter)
Judy
Clary
Sary-Ann
Primus
Lucy
Billy (Carpenter, little sense)
Jenny
Minty & Scotland
Fortune, runaway (Waiting on Overseer)
Binah Currie
London (My House Boy)
Nancy Hunt
Abel
George (Carpenter)
Dolly (My Cook and Washer)
Lydia (House Girl, 12 yrs.)

List of Negroes at Hermitage, this 30th April, 1857

Ralph (Driver)
Clarinda & Maria
Will (Prime, 28 yrs.)
Klima & Stephney
Nanny (Prime, 28 yrs.)
Abraham 11 yrs.
August 8 yrs.
Parker (Prime, 18 yrs.)
Die, Joe, Rose, Martha
Harriet (Prime, 21 yrs.)
Celim
Bella
Quash
Linda
Clary (Plantation Cook)
William
Cotta
Martha
Pompey
Sarey & Jane
Simon (In house, Cook)
Deborah
Jimmy (Second Engineer, Fireman)
Tilla
Sam (Died of pneumonia, March, 1858)
Bess
Hector
Betty (Brister)
Fortune (Head Bird-Minder with Gun, Prime, 20 yrs.)
Sophy (Prime, 44 yrs.)
Ann (3/4 Hand, 22 yrs.)
Charles (Prime, 45 yrs.)
Lucas
Patty (Prime, at times ailing, 43 yrs.)
Venus (11 yrs.)
Isaac
Katrina (Prime, 19 yrs.)
July (Prime, 19 yrs.)
Kate (Prime, 18 yrs.)
Andrew (7 yrs.)
Eve (Old, Quite old, cost nothing)
Miley (Prime, 21 yrs.)
Ishmael
Betty (Nurse)

Camp Guardians

Daniel (Old) New Comer, cost nothing. Hannah old.

N. B. Nineteen New Negroes bought this January 13th, 1857, costing $11,850,– being at an average $623.70 for each.

Number Negroes at		Gowrie	48
do	"	East Hermitage	47
do	"	Camp	2
Total this May 3d, 1857			97

Prime Hands 54¾.

Gave out Summer Clothes this Sunday, May 3d, 1857.

Gave out Winter Clothes this Sunday, December 13th, 1857. And every Man, Woman & Child has received a blanket, with new born Infants, One Hundred in number.

(C) LISTS OF NEGROES IN 1860.

List of Negroes at Gowrie, this 22d April, 1860

John
Nancy Hunt
George – Driver –
Betty
Minda
Nat
Martha
Julia
Charles (Trunk Minder)
Juna
Jack (Short)
Louisa
Mendoza
Tommy
Catherine
Hector (Post Boy)
Joaney (Plantation Cook)
Tyrah
Betsey (Old, Carpenter's Cook)

Jack, Savage (Chief Carpenter)
Amey
John Izard (Carpenter, Brick Layer)
Clary
Primus
Lucy (With Overseer)
Billy (Carpenter)
Jenny
Dolly
Scotland
Fortune (Ran away again April, 1860. Sold in Savannah, May, 1860, for $1200, as he was always running off)
Abel
Binah Currie

Nancy Hunt
George (Carpenter, – Run away 26th Oct'r., 1860; returned 25th Jan'y, 1861)
Simon (Run away 2d January, 1861; returned 25th January, 1861)
Polly & Moses
Lydia
Captain (Drowned in river June, 1860) } In House
Dolly } In House
Nancy (Gowrie)
Martha (Age 22 yrs., a fine Mulatto Woman given me by my Father, to

act as Nurse &c. for our Child. – Ran away in Charleston, May, 1861, caught four months after, – no longer with me)

We purchased in July, 1860 for $500 of Mr. James R. Pringle of Charleston, So. Ca. a Driver named "John" who is at present the only Driver on the Plantation, both George and Ralph, our former Drivers, being broken. Driver John is 44 years of age. Mr. Capers, our Overseer, tells me he has had much trouble with the Negroes the past Summer and several Runaways. Two are now out since October 25th, 1860, and not a word has been heard of them – December, 1860.– Several children died suddenly, the past summer at the Camp.

N.B. I gave blankets to every Man, Woman and Child on the plantation, Dec'r, 1860.

On 25th, January, 1861, all our Runaways (5 in number) were brought in through fear of the dogs. Our Children were poisoned at the Camp by Old Betsey.

List of Negroes at Hermitage, this 22d April, 1860

Ralph (Driver)
Clarinda
Maria
Will (Runaway Dec'r, 1860; returned 25th Jan'y, 1861)
Parker
Harriet (Venter's Child)
Celim
Bella
Quash
Linda
Cotta
Clary (Plantation Cook)
Cuffy
Joe
Rose
Pompey
Sarey
Jane
Pussy
Jimmy, Engineer (Ranaway 11th Jan'y, 1861; returned in a week, & I let him off)
Tilla
Nelly
Bess
Stephney (Best Ploughman)
Nanny
Abraham
Hannah (Old)
Hector (Ran away 26th Oct'r, 1860; returned 25th Jan'y, 1861)
Betty Brister
Rachel

Sophy	July	Katrina & York
Ann	Kate	Ishmael
Charles Lucas	Andrew	Betty, Nurse
Patty	Miley	Deborah
Venus	Isaac	

At Camp

Daniel (old)	Phillis (old)	Martha
Eve (old)	Cato	August

Born since last April

Polly's Moses	Jenny's Dolly
Katrina's York	Sarey's Pussy

Gave out Summer Clothes this Sunday, 22d April, 1860.

Gave out Winter Clothes this Sunday, 2d December, 1860.

N.B. Gave out Blankets to All the field Hands this year, according to Rule, viz: Once every third year.

(D) OPERATIONS; 1855 to 1860.

Gowrie and East Hermitage Plantations, Savannah River

1855		Dr.
Oct'r	To Middleton Factors, Oct'r 1855 to Oct'r 1856 . . .	$1,994.42
1856		
Jan'y 1	" Overseer's Wages for past year .	700.00
" "	" A. A. Solomons (Medicines) . .	30.57
" "	" W. H. May & Co. (Belting, &c.) .	43.54
" 31	" Dr. W. G. Bullock . . .	14.00
" "	" A. McAlpin & Bro. (Lumber) .	217.09
Feb'y 1	" R. & J. Lacklison . . .	272.77
" 6	" Dr. J. McP. Gregorie . .	58.00
May	" J. M. Eason & Bro. (improving Tresher)	900.00
		$4,230.39

[Summary of crops and earnings], 1855-1856. [Marketed between Oct. 25, 1855 and Apr. 4, 1856, in nine shipments to Charleston, 22,805 bushels rough rice

and 995 bu. clean rice, sold at 4¾ to 3⅝ cents per lb. in a declining market, yielding $25,869.35 gross and $20,867.58 net.]

Nett Amount of Sales as per Credit,	$20,867.58
Plantation Expenses as per Debit,	4,230.39
Proceeds from Gowrie & East Hermitage,	$15,637.19.

Remarks: Considering the immense losses We have experienced during the past three years, the Cholera having swept off in 1852 and 1854 many of our *very best* hands, a destructive freshet visiting us in August, 1852, just in the midst of harvest, (damaging to a great degree not only the standing Crop, by rendering the grain soft, of a dingy Colour, & almost unfit for market, but causing also a vast quantity of Volunteer & light rice in the Crop of 1853.) In thinking also of the ever memorable Hurricane of 8th September, 1854, full moon, & wind N.E., the salt water direct from the Ocean submerged the plantations on Savannah River, such a thing not having happened for fifty years, the Consequence being that We, on Savannah River, made only ¼ of a Crop, ourselves 8000 Bushels instead of four times that amount, most of the Crop Cut, and in small stacks, swept away, and the entire plantation strewed with loose rice, a vast injury to the Crop of 1855. Considering all this; I do not complain of our present Crop. Rice this year, caused as is supposed by the now pending Crimean War, has been very high, & our entire crop has sold well. I lost my Overseer, Mr. S. F. Clark, of Consumption in Dec'r, 1855, but since the last Cholera (Dec'r, 1854) we have lost no one of any Consequence, and perfect health has prevailed on the plantation. My Thresher was much out of order, but the boiler has been added to, & power increased &c,

all being in good order for the next Crop. Besides the above quantity of Rice sent to market in Charleston, I have kept back fifteen hundred bushels for seed.

Gowrie (Savannah River) 1st May, 1856.

1856		Dr.
Oct'r	To Middleton & Co. Factors, Oct'r, '56 to Oct'r, '57 . . .	$2,094.66
1857		
Jan'y 1	" Overseer's Wages for past year .	300.00
" 6	" Wall's Pine Land called "Camp" 771 Acrs.	2,250.00
" 8	" Estate John Poole (Painter) Savannah	60.00
" 13	" ⅓ Cash on $11,850—19 Negroes at $623.70 Average . . .	3,950.00
" 16	" McAlpin & Bro. Lumber . .	308.54
" "	" O. Johnson. Shoes for Plantation .	88.35
" "	" Sullivan (Elevating Cups) . .	13.50
" "	" W. H. May & Co. (Belting &c.) .	34.82
" 29	" Carson (Shingles) . . .	50.00
July 7	" O. Johnson & Co. (Shoes) . .	18.85
" "	" Claghorn & Cunningham . .	29.03
" "	" do do . . .	6.03
" "	" Wm. Lake, 6 oar'd boat 36:2 "How-qua"	100.00
" "	" Goodrich (Grocer) . . .	45.10
" "	" Nevitt, Lathrop & Rogers (Dry Goods)	36.31
" "	" do " do . .	34.47
" "	" Sundries	100.00
		$9,519.66

[Summary of crops and earnings], 1856-1857.

[Marketed between Nov. 10, 1856 and Mch. 6, 1857, in four shipments, 15,590 bu. rough rice and 700 bu. clean rice, at 3⅝ to 3⅞ cents, yielding $15,921.04 gross, and $12,661.27 net.]

Nett Amount of Sales as per Credit	$12,661.27
Plantation Expenses as per Debit	9,519.66
Proceeds from Gowrie & East Hermitage	$ 3,141.61

Upon the death of my Overseer (10th Dec'r, 1855) I was left alone on the plantation. We soon finished

threshing the Crop & I went to work preparing the lands for the next year. There were many applications, as Overseers, for this place, but none pleased us. The latter part of February was now approaching, still we had no Overseer. At last we were recommended (by Mr. Wm. Bull Pringle of Charleston, S. C.) a young man who had acted as Sub-Overseer for 2 or 3 years upon his Brother's (Mr. R. Pringle's) Plantation on Black River, about 20 miles from Georgetown, So. Ca. Mr. Leonard F. Venters, 24 yrs. of age reached this on 21st Feb'y, 1856. He struck me as being very young; I explained however all Concerning our mode of "water Culture" & how our Crops were treated on Savannah River, a very different method being used here from what, I was told, they used on other rivers, where black soil could not stand the water which these stiff clay lands did, &c. We commenced planting on the 15th March, & finished the entire tract of 638 Acres (all Open plant) on 3d May, when we began to hoe Rice and I left the plantation for the summer. Venters made two great and fatal mistakes. He drew off his "Sprout Water" too rapidly, prostrating his rice to the ground, & again he kept his fields dry too long, before he could get at them to give first hoeing. His rice was all stunted, sickly, and grass took him. We have made one half a Crop. He says "he will do better another year, that now he sees into it", and as is well known, "Never change an Overseer if You can help it". We try him once (but only once) more. We have purchased 19 Negroes, amongst them 13 prime hands Costing in all $11,850. Also 771 Acres High Land on Georgia Main, for Cholera Camps, Children's Summer residence, &c. Costing $2,195. We have been blessed with health during the past year, & now as hope ever bears us

onward, I try to forget the past, looking forward with brighter expectations for the Coming Season, that We may be blessed with "the kindly fruits of the Earth so that in due time we may enjoy them".

Gowrie, (Savannah River), 1st February, 1857.

1857				Dr.
Oct'r		To	Middleton & Co. Factors, Oct'r 1857 to Oct'r 1858 . .	$1,880.81
1858				
April	1	"	Middleton & Co. 1450½ Bs. seed Rice at $1.20 $1740.60 — 142 Bbls. at 87½ cents $124.25 . . (part of this Rice sent to Silk Hope)	1,864.85
		"	Overseer's Wages for past year . .	300.00
Jan'y	30	"	R. & J. Lacklison . . .	32.76
"	"	"	Boyle Henderson (ploughs) . .	20.00
"	"	"	O. Johnson & Co. . .	10.75
"	"	"	W. G. Dickson (Grocer) . .	10.46
"	"	"	A. A. Solomons . . .	44.56
"	"	"	Ross & Co.	76.29
"	"	"	Nevitt, Lathrop & Rogers (flann blankets)	270.40
"	"	"	R. B. Donnoly . . .	93.18
"	"	"	A. McAlpin & Bro. . .	167.60
"	"	"	Dr. W. Gaston Bullock (for Hector's eye)	51.00
"	"	"	R. A. Allen & Co. (Shingles) .	95.57
				$4,918.23

[Summary of crops and earnings], 1857-1858.

[Marketed between Nov. 17, 1857 and Apr. 5, 1858, in five shipments, 20,336 bu. rough rice and 990 bu. clean rice, at 2 13/16 to 3⅛ cents, yielding $16,978.98 gross and $12,964.68 net.]

Nett Amount of Sales as per Credit	$12,964.68
Plantation Expenses as per Debit	4,918.23
Proceeds from Gowrie and East Hermitage	$ 8,046.45

My expectations with regard to the Overseer's improving upon his past year's sad experience were vain. Mr. Venters did do a little better than before, as far as

an increase in the Crop was concerned, but very little, moreover elated by a strong and very false religious feeling he began to injure the plantation a vast deal, placing himself on a par with the Negroes, by even joining in with them at their prayer meetings, breaking down long established discipline, which in every Case is so difficult to preserve, favouring and siding in any difficulty with the people, against the Drivers, besides Causing numerous grievances which I now have every reason to suppose my Neighbours knew; & perhaps I was laughed at and ridiculed for keeping in my employ such a Man. I discharged Mr. Venters, and on 8th January, 1858, engaged Mr. Wm. H. Bryan, a married Man aged 31 yrs. with a Wife and two Children. He is very highly recommended by Dr. King, & highly spoken of as a good planter and man of Character. I give him $800. for the year 1858. The plantation being overrun with Volunteer, I have used for the first time the sub-soil plough & I think to advantage. I have also planted the entire Tract in new seed, viz: 194 Acres in Ogeechee Inland Swamp Rice & the remainder of the plantation in Gov'r Allston's Celebrated Georgetown seed purchased in Charleston at $1.20. I now leave the plantation (April, 1858) with Mrs. Manigault for Europe until December next. I can judge of the stand of 400 Acres, viz: 1st & 2d planting which thus far looks well.

(The sub-soil ploughs proved a failure, our lands drain well enough without.)

Gowrie (Savannah River) 20th December, 1858.

[Summary] 1858-1859

Nett Amount of Sales as per Credit	$10053.00
Plantation Expenses as per Debit	6784.74
Proceeds from Gowrie and East Hermitage	$ 3268.26

The Crop of 1858, W. H. Bryan Overseer, has turned out wretchedly. From what I can learn since my return from Europe and after spending the entire winter of '58, '59 on the plantation, there has been gross neglect & great want of attention on the part of the Overseer. For the first time we allowed the Overseer's family to reside, during the summer, at our pine land Tract called "Camp", leaving it to Mr. Bryan, when, & how often, he should visit them. He took advantage of this, & for days did not visit the plantation, neglecting all things. I have been without an Overseer since January 1st to 8th April & have planted one half of our present Crop myself. I have had very great difficulty in getting off the thin stubble of last year, the winter too having been mild with much rain. The Spring has been very Cool, & on Sunday 24th April We had frost, Ther. 35°, killing some of the tender Sprouts of the Rice, without destroying the entire plant, yet backening the Crop much, and Causing it to look yellow. On 8th April, 1859, Mr. Wm. Capers Jr., an Overseer of high rank & standing, who has managed two years for Gov'r Aiken on Jehossee Island, & had much experience as Overseer near Georgetown &c, takes charge, at the rate of One thousand Dollars per Annum, the highest Salary We have yet paid. Mr. Capers has numerous enemies, but even by these he is recognized as a Competant Manager of a Rice Crop, & a Capable & intelligent Man. He is a fine looking Man, 44 yrs. of age, & has with him a Wife and six Children.

Gowrie (Savannah River), 3d May, 1859.

[Summary] 1859-1860

Nett Amount of Sales as per Credit	$13593.36
Plantation Expenses as per Debit	7654.82
Proceeds from Gowrie and East Hermitage	$ 5938.54

Upon Mr. Capers' taking Charge (8th April, 1859) he found the plantation in a great state of disorder and neglect. I told him I knew it, and that I had been nearly all winter hoeing off the thin stubble, for I could not get it to burn, & I had only had time sufficient to rake out the ditches in a rough way before the planting had overtaken us. He pointed out to me that the ploughs had been skipping ground, & doing very bad work. He immediately proposed throwing out fifty Acres of the worst volunteer squares, planting twenty Acres in Cow peas, & not planting the remaining thirty, to which I agreed. The truth is on a plantation to attend to things properly it requires both Master & Overseer. Mr. Capers has not made a large Crop, but he says it was much on a/c of the bad Condition in which he found the plantation, & I believe him, & am satisfied thus far with him, feeling that he has had no Chance. We have bought two new Mules this winter, working in all six mules. During the past winter Mr. Capers has done much work. He has cut a new Canal through two Squares, on the upper portion of the plantation, which I think will be of service. We have for the first time used the double horse ploughs, turning the lands much deeper than previously. The past winter has not been severe, and the Spring has been very favorable for the rice, Strange however We had hardly a shower in April, the Showers coming in May & June.[3] We plant again this year fifty Acres in dry Culture, viz: in sweet potatoes & Cow peas. I place Confidence in Mr. Capers. He has had a good beginning this year, & all the rice which is up thus far looks as well as I have ever seen Rice in this stage looking.

Gowrie (Savannah River) 24th April, 1860.

[3] Kept this & wrote it in June.– ORIG.

(E) PLANTATION JOTTINGS, 1845.

Mr. Basshaw says he gives as Christmas Holidays 3 entire week days, half a peck of small Rice Extra, tobacco, & molasses, & Pork 3 lbs. each; at harvest 3 lb. Pork & Molasses each week alternately – & Pork once or twice during the summer when the work is hard in hoeing &c. Molasses & tobacco 2 or 3 times during the year – to children Molasses frequently, with a little pork frequently when out at pine-land.

1st Jan'y 1845: Mr. McMillan King informs me that his Father purchased Mr. Young's Estate on Savannah River on 1st Jan. 1838 for $110,000, Containing 500 Acres Rice Land, 1000 Acres high Land on Georgia Shore, & 190 Negroes, a fine Rice Mill, Settlement good, Flats, boats, &c. But the most agreeable feature of the purchase was that Mr. King sold out $60,000 of U.S. Bank stock to pay it *just before the Bank failed.*

Mr. McMillan King, who manages for his father, says he has Never made more than 1050 Barrels of Rice off of the 500 Acres, which is a poor interest after paying the great Expenses. The Negroes have not decreased, perhaps now number 3 or 4 above the number purchased. . .

7th April 1845: I this day (being 50 years of age) walked up to the High ground on Mr. Guerard's Estate, where I have a Negro house for my Negro children to reside in summer, built on a piece of Land which Mr. D. Heyward bought from Mr. McPherson for this purpose & permitted me also to put a dwelling on it for the children – which has proved of great benefit as a retreat from the bad summer climate of our rice fields *for children.* . . Mr. Porcher, who manages Mr. Guerard's Estate, says there are there 120 Negroes, but only about 45 workers & that this year he only plants

220 in Rice, besides 40 or 50 in dry Culture.– He informs me that The Tract formerly owned by Mr. Hugh Rose (just above alluded to) was recently purchased by a Mr. Winkler of Savannah for $5,000, That Mr. Bullac's plantation just opposite to it on the Georgia Shore has been recently purchased by a Mr. Dillon for $4000. He (Dillon) has been keeping a grog shop in Savannah for several years, & made his money by trading with Negroes, & has already established a grog & trading shop on his new purchase.– Mr. Jas. Potter tells me this 11th April 1845 that Mr. H. Rose upwards of 20 years ago purchased this place for $36,000, & paid $10,000 Cash. But never could make any thing on it to effect another payment, & all His other property being mortgaged he abandoned this place to the former owners in January 1837 without any further paymt. I told Mr. Potter this 11th April that "If he buys Mr. Williamson's Plantation of 20 or 230 Acres lieing between his brother Dr. Potter's plantation (called Tweedside) & his (called Colleraine) that I should like to purchase from him his tract of 240 Acres on Argyle Island adjoining my plantation." Should it ever happen that he offers it for sale I must remember what he stated to me this day, viz: "that at the sale of my Plantation in 1831 Mr. McAlpin bid $18,000 when he (Mr. Potter) bid $19,000, & that it was knocked down to Mr. McAlpin for $20,000, these being the only three bids.– I afterwards, viz: in 1833, gave Mr. McAlpin $25,000 for it, which latter price estimating my fine Rice Mill at only $7,500 puts the Cleared land at $70, & the Uncleared @ $37 per acre. Mr. Potter's land next to me is good clay land, just like mine, but it has been worked some years longer than mine, but putting it at the same price

[Concluded on page 166]

7 ACCOUNTS OF EXPENSES, CROPS AND SALES ON A SEA-ISLAND COTTON AND RICE PLANTATION

Extracts from the plantation record book of A. Porter, Esq., executor of the estate of Dr. Adam Alexander, containing accounts of the financial operations of the plantation in Liberty county, Georgia belonging to the estate. MS. in the possession of Mrs. J. F. Minis, Savannah, Ga. The record extends from 1824–1859. The selections here published are for typical years.

(a) EXPENSE ACCOUNT, DEBIT AND CREDIT, 1829–1830, 1830–1831, AND 1831–1832.

THE ESTATE OF DOCT. ALEXANDER in a/c with A. Porter.

				*	Dr.
1829.					
May	20,	To	N. B. & H. Weed, for 2 doz. Hoes	1,	21.
"	"	"	Is. Ribero, mark for cotton	2,	1.
July	17,	"	R. & W. King, 100 bushs. Corn 53 cts.	3,	59.83
Novem.	6,	"	I. B. Herbert 132½ yds. cotton bagging at 20½ cts. 221¾ yds. negro cloth 32 cts.	4,	98.12
"	13,	"	D. & B. Foley, cloath for Harry etc.	5,	7.20
1830.					
Jany.	9,	"	Otis Johnston for 38 pr. negro shoes at 95 cts. each	6,	36.22
Feby.	25,	"	Wm. P. McConnell, physician's Bill	7,	70.
"	"	"	B. A. Busby,	8,	250.
"	"	"	D. Stutson, for sundries, nails, etc.	9,	17.78
Mar.	17,	"	Taxes pd. for 1829,	10,	23.18
May	19,	"	Champion & S. for 302½ Yds. Oznab.	11,	29.98
"	"	"	Ol. Stevens for work done,	12,	1.12
June	10,	"	R. & W. King, for Cotton seed sent to plantation, expenses, etc. etc.		35.87
					651.30

*Voucher number.

1830.			Cr.
Febry. 25,	By	4,064 lbs. Fodder sold to Mr. Stutson, at 75¢, ...	30.48
May 2,	"	Oliver Stevens for his order on Robt. Habersham in payment for balance due on his note for 50., ...	45.48
June 10,	"	this sum retained in my hands from sale of Cotton crop 1829 . .	575.82
			651.30

				*	Dr.
1830					
Novem.	17,	To R. & W. King, for 231½ Yds. negro cloth at 50 cts. per Yd. .		1,	115.75
Decem.	9,	" H. Hope for Ox cart per acc^{t}		2,	65.
1831.					
Jany.	20,	" Geo. W. Walthour, Blacksmiths work, . . .		3,	2.56
"	27,	" O. Johnston & Co. for Negro Shoes, ...		4,	36.75
Mar.	4,	" Mr. Stutson's acct. for sundries furnished Plant^{n} . .		5,	42.51
	"	" Taxes for the year 1830		6,	25.49
	11,	" B. A. Busby for his wages 1830, ...		7,	250.
	14,	" Doc^{t}. Wm. C. McConnell acct.		8,	15.
	"	" Norton & Fuller, for Handkfs.		9,	5.50
	"	" B. Snider, for Satinett, &c.		10,	13.82
	25,	" R. & W. Kings acc^{t}. for blanketts, bagging, mackeral, &c., &c.,		11,	157.50
	30,	" N. B. & H. Weed 1½ doz. Hoes, ...		12,	12.75
					742.63
					Cr.
1831.					
Jany.	4,	By I. S. Bulloch's accep: of Doc^{t} Axons draft for debt of old Doc^{t} A.	168.86		
		Less p^{d}. Wm. Gordon, Com^{s} & expenses of Collection, .	22.50		146.36
March	4,	" David Stutson for 6,400 lbs. fodder at 75 cents per 100, per contra,		No. 5,	48.
	31,	" this sum retained in my hands from sale of Cotton crop 1830 to pay expenses &c., &c., ...			548.27
					742.63

*Voucher number.

			*	Dr.
1831.				
May	17,	To N. B. & H. Weed, for 1½ doz. Plantation Hoes	No. 1,	12.75
Novem	7,	" Geo. Newhall, Cloath for Harry	2,	4.80
	"	" P. Snider	3,	3.44
	"	" do 246 Yds. Cloth	4,	123.45
Dec.	26,	" H. Duier for Coat for Harry	5,	8.50
	27,	" O. Johnston & Co.	6,	2.
1832.				
Jany.	13,	" D. Stutson, bill for Sundries	7,	32.68
	"	" James Anderson for Oznaburgs	8,	29.92
	"	" B. Snider	9,	1.50
	"	" do	10,	4.50
	18,	" O. Johnston & Co., for Shoes	11,	41.
Feby.	10,	" B. A Busby wages for 1831	12,	200
March	9,	" Harris & Hardin's bill	13,	57.50
	15,	" Norman Wallace's bill	14,	19.37
	28,	" N. B. & H. Weed, 2 doz. Hoes	15,	17.
				$558.41

			Cr.
1831.			
April	7,	By Doct Willson of Sunbury for 6 mo. rent of House & Lot in Sunbury	25.
	12,	" Mrs. Ann Winn of Sunbury by the hands of Oliver Stevens, Cash payment for House & Lot in Sunbury	100.
1832.			
Jany.	13,	" D. Stutson for 5,320 lbs. Fodder at 75 cents per 100 lbs.	39.90
Feby.	10,	" Corn sold by Mr. Busby 56 bush: 75	42.
April	10,	" Cash recd from Sales of Cotton Crop of 1831	351.51
			$558.41

*Voucher number.

(b) ACCOUNT OF CROPS, PROCEEDS, AND DIVISION OF PROFITS, 1829–1830, 1830–1831 AND 1831–1832.

STATEMENT OF SALES by R. & W. King of the Cotton Crop-[s] of 1829 [, 1830, and 1831] of Est. of Doc^{t} Alexander.

1830				
Feb. 13,	To S. P. Allen, 27 bales Sea Island, 8,571 ^{lbs} nett at 25 cents average 317 pounds per bale (deducting charges)			2,058.79
	Deduct other charges for acc^{t} curr^{t}			13.23
				2,045.56
March 31,	To Taft & Paddleford 6 bales stained, 1,654 at 11¾ cents (nett sales)			183.44
June 8,	To Ch^{s} Leviston, 3½ bales or 1039 ^{lbs} at 22½ cents (nett sales)			214.78
				2,443.78
To B. A. Busby			250.	
" A. Porter, plantation exp.			325.82	575.82
				1,867.96
To A. L. Alexander	10¾ hands,		680.69	
" A. Porter	9 "		569.86	
" Mrs. Alexander	8¾ "		554.05	
" Mrs. Van Yeveren	1 "		63.36	1,867.96

1831.					Dr.
March 14, To E. Molyneux, Jun[r] 17 bales at 16½ cents per p[d], 5,412 lbs					892.98
" " To Jos. Ganahl, 4 Baggs stained 9 cts 1174 pounds					105.66
					998.64
Deduct Expens[e],					44.02
					954.62
					Cr.
By a division as follows,					
" B. A. Busby		250.			
" Plantation Exps.		298.27			548.27
" A. L. Alexander 10¾			148.02		
" A. Porter 9			123.93		
" Mrs. Alexander 8¾			120.63		
" Mrs. Van Yeveren 1			13.77		406.35
					954.62

1832				Dr.
Mar. 17 To	J. Ganahl 25 Bales at 17¼ cents, 8,035lbs.			1,386.04
	Deduct charges			63.16
	Leaving			1,322.88
" 24	John & Jas. Reed 1713lbs Stained at 10			159.25
				$1,482.13
By a division as follows.				Cr.
" R. & W. King acct for Sundries			94.78	
" B. A. Busby's wages			200.	
" Plantation Expenses			151.51	
			446.29	446.29
Division				
	Hands			
" A. L. Alexander	12¼		378.82	
" L. F. Alexander	9¾		301.62	
" Antho. Porter	9½		293.79	
" D. Van Yeveren	2		61.61	1,035.84
				$1,482.13

(c) EXPENSE ACCOUNT, DEBIT AND CREDIT, 1847–1848 AND 1848–1849.

PLANTATION EXPENSES in 1847 [and 1848] in a/c with A. Porter of Savannah, Ga.

				Dr.
1847.				
March	27,	To purchase of 160 acres of Land on the west side of road to Riceboro of assignee of Js. Roberts,–Tho. H. Hardon, per deed recorded in Liberty County, per receipt,	* 1,	205.
May	28,	To Cohen Norris & Co. 1,114 lbs Bacon at 9 cents per pound,	2,	101.25
June	5,	" I. Anderson & Co. for summer clothes	3,	41.88
	9,	" Denslow & W. for plantation Tools	4,	15.25
	24,	" Fort Geo. Packet, freights	5,	2.75
July	3,	" Sloop Eagle & Owners "	6,	3.62
	21,	" N. Wallace, for 3 doz. hoes	7,	25.50
Oct.	25,	" Jos. Andrews, Cart wheel, &c.	8,	9.
	"	" C. F. Mills, for 4 sacks salt	8,	6.
1848				
Jany.	5,	" Thos. W. Fleming, for work done	9,	27.94
	7,	" I. Anderson & Co. winter clos. Blankets &c.	10,	222.09
	"	" Geo. R. Hendrickson, for medicine, &c.	11,	3.30
	17,	" McCluskey & Co. for hoes, axes, &c..	12,	19.50
	25,	" Remshart & Thomas, for shoes, &c.	13,	35.95
	26,	" N. B. Knapp, gin bands	14,	3.
	31,	" Thos. I. Shepard per acct. current rendered for year 1847, including $225. for his wages, acct. filed	15,	381.54
Feby.	11,	" Doct. King for services in 1847	16,	27.
				$1,130.17

*Voucher number.

			Cr.
1847.			
May	26,	By improper debit 15 Aug^{t}. 1846, Voucher No. 8 Summer Cloathes, when it was the private acc^{t}. of Mrs. Porter	68.61
June	9,	" Robt. Habersham & Son, Chapman draft on them for corn, 30 bushels .	30.
1848.			
Jany.	31,	" Tho^{s}. I. Shepards acc^{t}. current rendered of sales of Corn, fodder, &c. &c., see debit side, 15, ...	263.88
	"	" Doct. Way, sale to him of half the Land purchased as per debit side, per voucher No. 1.	102.50
Mch.	31,	" Balance carried to Credit Sales of Cotton Crop of 1847, . .	665.18
			$1130.17

1848.					*	Dr.
Apr.	1,	To	Cohen Norris & Co., for Bacon		1,	120.21
	4,	"	Henry Davis, for 2 Mules,		2,	200.
	26,	"	I. Anderson & Co., Summer Cloaths,		3,	42.40
May	4,	"	Raymond Cay for Sundries,		4,	34.42
June	12,	"	Martin Ryals, mending Ox Cart,		5,	6.
	"	"	John Le Conte, Fowl House, &c. &c.		6,	6.37
Oct.	6,	"	Chas. Stebbins, Taxes of 1848,		7,	36.02
December,		"	And. Low & Co. for 4 sacks of salt		9,	5.25
Decem.	7,	"	Thos. W. Fleming, Carpenter work,		8,	18.
Decem.	25,	"	Delegals Carpenter, for work at Plantation		9,	10.
	"	"	Grovenstine for freight,		11,	8.25
1849.						
Jany.	3,	To	W. Rhemshart for Shoes,		12,	34.88
"			McCluskey & Co. for Hoes, &c.		13,	26.23
"	8,		Jas. Anderson & Co. Winter Cloathing		14,	95.53
"	11,		Thos. I. Shepard, Sundries per acct		15,	20.33
	"		Do. as Manager,		15,	225.
						$888.89

*Voucher number.

			Cr.
1849.			
Jany. 11,	By	cash for Straw sold to Mr. Farrell	2.
1848.			
June 10,	"	9,550 lbs. Fodder to Mr. McCay at 75 cts	71.62
Aug. 28,	"	127 Bushels of Corn to Mrs. Shepard 65 cts	82.55
July	"	75 " of " to Mr. Delegal "	48.75
1849			
Jany. 11,	"	Balance settled by being transferred to acct. where Sales of Rice & Cotton of 1848 is given	683.97
			$888.89

(d) ACCOUNT OF CROPS, PROCEEDS AND DIVISION OF PROFITS, 1847–1848 AND 1848–1849.

STATEMENT OF COTTON & RICE CROP of the year 1847 [and 1848].

						Dr.
1848.						
Feb. 28,	To And. Low & Co., 700 Bushels Rice at 87½ cents each, equal to					612.50
	Deduct,					
	Freight, Drayage & Com^{s}					52.25
						560.25
Apr. 8,	To M. & W. Cumming, 1 p^{s} Cotton Bagging, &c., see acc^{t} Sales Cotton C^{r} side					20.86
" 8,	" R. Hutchinson for sale of 26 bales White Sea Island Cotton at 18 cts. 3,581 lbs. nett					1452.61
						2033.72
June 12,	To W. Battersby, sold to him 4 Bales,					
	White Cotton, 1,160 lbs. at 13 cents				150.80 cents	
	2 Inferior, 744 " 7 "				52.08	
	5 Stained, 1,705 " 3 "				51.15	
	2 Mastidon, 559 " 6½ "				36.34	
					290.37	
	Less Expenses & Com^{s}				23.22	267.15
						$2300.87

			Cr.
1848.			
Mar. 31,	By Bal. due on Plantation expenses		665.18
April 14,	By A. L. Alexander, sent to him		700.
" 14,	" A. Porter, retained by him		700.
June 13,	" A. L. Alexander, sent to him		117.85
" "	" A. Porter, retained by him		117.84
			$2,300.87

1848.					Dr.
Decem.	9, To 17 Tierces Rice, or 500 bushels, nett 10,460lbs sold to Henry Roser at $2.62,				283.07
	To 1 Cask small Rice at $1.37				8.73
	" 34 bushels Rice Flour at 12½				4.25
					296.05
	Less Charges:				
	Freight $25, disch. $2.50, nails 36 cents Tierces $13.50 Stor. $1.02, Weigh. $1.02 Coms, 2½ $7.40				50.80
	Nett,				245.25
Decem.	28, To 490 bushels Rough Rice, sold to Robt Habersham & Son, at 70 cents per Bushel			343.	
	Less Freight 5¢.		24.50		
	Coms 2½		8.58	33.08	309.92
					555.17
1849.					
April	12, To 12 bales Sea Island Cotton, 3,980lbs at 15½ cents.		616.90		
	Less Expenses		31.62		585.28
					$1140.45
June	16, To 4 Bales Stained sold to Battersby, 1120lbs at 6 cents				59.52
					1199.97
1849.					Cr.
Jany.	11, By Plantation Expenses bal. due				683.97
April	17, By Mr. Alexander, pd over to him		300.		
"	" " A. Porter, bal. to him		216.		516.
					$1199.97

(e) EXPENSE ACCOUNT, DEBIT AND CREDIT, 1852–1853.

PLANTATION EXPENSES, 1852, in a/c with A. Porter. Dr.

				*	
1852.					
May	19,	To	Cohen & Fosdick ass: sum[mer] cl[othing]	1,	43.44
June	12,	"	Do Do	2,	1.62
"	18,	"	N. B. & H. Weed, for hoes, &c.,	3,	11.75
Octo.	1,	"	Taxes p[d] for year 1852	4,	29.55
"	1,	"	Flannel & Homespun	5,	1.42
1853.					
Jany.	3,	"	Wm. Height for Shoes,	6,	32.68
	4,	"	McCluskey & Norton, Brushes,	7,	4.50
	5,	"	LaRoache & Bowen, cloathes, &c.	8,	149.65
	6,	"	Tho[s]. I. Shepard, for Sundry things paid for by him,	9,	28.75
	6,	"	Tho[s]. I. Shepard, for bal. of $250. due to him for his wages for 1852	9,	184.55
Feb.	9,	"	Mr. Pendergast, for 10 yds. Flannel	10,	2.20
	12,	"	Mrs. Porter, for Medicine,		2.
Mch.	17,	"	A. L. Alexander, for Sundries,	11,	151.10
					$643.21

Cr.

1853.				
Jany.	6,	By	Tho[s]. I. Shepard, for Corn Fodder, &c &c sold by him on Plantation acc[t]	97.41
March	24,	"	Proceeds of Cotton Sold,	545.80
				$643.21

*Voucher number.

(f) ACCOUNT OF CROPS, PROCEEDS AND DIVISION OF PROFITS, 1852–1853.

STATEMENT OF COTTON CROP of 1852, A. Porter & A. L. Alexander.

1853.				Dr.
March	4,	For 12 Bales clean Cotton, 4,820 lbs at 32 cents equal to . .		1542.40
		Less expenses:		
		To Freight $9 Wharf 60¢ Drayage 96 cts Storage $6.72		
		Weighing 72 cts. Com. 2½ on $1,542.40		56.56
				1485.84
March	23,	For 14 Bales Cotton, 5,394 lbs at 34 cents equal to . .	1,833.96	
		Less Expenses:		
		To Freight 10.50, Wharf 70¢ Drayage 1.12, Storage 2.24,		
		Weighing .84 Com^{s}. 2½ $45.84	61.24	1772.72
				3258.56
March	31,	For 493 Bushels of Rice, beat & cleaned and then sold by Rob.		
		Habersham & Son to Smith & Humphreys at $3.93¾ per 100lbs nett, .		420.52
				$3679.08
1853				Cr.
Mar.	24,	By Plantation Expenses		545.80
"	"	" A. L. Alexander p^{d}. him	1200.	
"	"	" A. Porter, p . him	1200.	2400.
				2945.80
April	5,	By A. L. Alexander, 11½ hands, ...	256.24	
"	"	" A. Porter, 13¼ "	477.84	734.08
				3679.88

as I paid for mine, viz: $70 per acre, it will be for the 240 Acres, $16,800, & much less if sold at the price at which he stopped bidding for mine in 1831 (viz, $19,000). This Tract adjoining me is at a great distance from Mr. P.'s Settlement [*i.e.*, plantation headquarters, negro yard, etc.], having to cross two rivers, & a canal in flatting the crop from it, to the Barn yard on the Georgia main.– Mr. James Potter says his brother Dr. P. plants in all 500 Acres, & this last season made 30,000 Bushels whereas he planting 550 Acres did not make near as much. . .

I asked Mr. Rowell (Dr. King's Overseer) this afternoon respecting that Plantation at the head of Argyle Island. He says the whole tract calls for 414 acres of Rice Land. Dr. King has on it 72 Negroes. The workers, full & halves taken together, make 35 full Hands or 42 hoes. Plants this year 230 acres in Rice & 20 in Corn.

15th April 1845: Allen Smith informed me that he pays Dr. Wragg settled in Savannah $1.50 per head for to attend to all his Negroes by which the Doctor engages to go up, say eight miles by water, whenever he is wanted there, merely by a boat being sent for him – so that if there are 100 Negroes he gets for all his Services $150, without any charge for Mileage or any thing else. Dr. Pritchard asked me I think $1.25 per head for his medical services during the year, but I preferred going by the visits.

8 MANAGEMENT OF SCATTERED PLANTATIONS

Letters of John B. Lamar, 1844 to 1849, to his sister Mrs. Howell Cobb and her husband, Howell Cobb, then Member of Congress. Colonel Lamar was managing Mr. Cobb's plantations as well as his own, and other properties of the family, lying in the counties near Macon, Georgia, and in southwest Georgia and Florida. The letters are dated at Macon, Lamar's headquarters, and addressed either to Athens, Ga., or Washington City. MSS. in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens.

(a) To Howell Cobb Macon, Jan. 8, 1844.

Dear Howell: I returned from the Hurricane on Saturday evening, when I found things rather at sixes & sevens. But I hope we shall be able to get everything straight for another crop. Gibson went off, & left the crop of corn in the field ungathered, or there would not be any difficulty, but what could be overcome very easily.

They are gathering & housing the corn as fast as possible. But every hour that is spent at that business belongs of right to getting in & fencing two hundred acres of fresh cotton land. If I can possibly have that land got in, in time, I shall calculate very surely on making 250 bags of Cotton at that place this year. But I am not sure of being able to do so, with the backsets Gibson has – intentionally, I believe – thrown in the way. If it is possible, it will be done I think, as I am very much pleased with our new man Harvey. I like his ideas & mode of doing business well.

I hope the corn will last us until the next crop is ready for use. As it is not yet housed, I cannot tell exactly. But I rather think it may be made to hold out.

I had the hogs killed while I was there & had the meat all salted away, before I left. The weight was 7500 lbs. It will require several thousand more, say 3000.

The cotton crop is ginning as fast as possible. There are 10 bags packed at the plantation. Seven ginned and ready for packing, and about 26 or 7 in the seed. Harvey says that Gibsons account was, that with the cotton sent off to Sav[annah] & that at the plantation, there would be about 110 bags.

I shall have four mules to buy, & you must furnish the money, out of the crop of last year. There are now 16 on the place, but I wish to run 20 ploughs this year.

With that number of ploughs & the energy & "new-broom" zeal of Harvey, I think the old Hurricane, will astonish the natives in Baldwin & Jones who have looked upon it as an old worn out place. To view it from the road it is an unsightly place, truly. But take it upon the whole I had rather have it than any place of the same number of acres I know of anywhere; Sumpter, Lee &c not excepted.

If I am only able to get in the 200 acres, above spoken of, I only ask a tolerable season to make 250 bags. I am not dealing in hyperbole at all, but rather underestimate than otherwise, as with such a season as '42, I should calculate, to overgo that number considerably.

(b) To Howell Cobb Macon, March 17, [1844 ?].

Dear Howell: I have just this evening returned from the Hurricane where I have spent a week in organizing for a vigorous campaign against grass, & in favour of Messrs Corn, Cotton & Pork. I think I have succeeded in infusing an "esprit du corps" into our forces there, which will be proven by the result next winter.

We have been unable to get in the 200 acres of land joining Dr. White, of which I told you, on account of having to gather Gibson's crop of corn & to hawl off cotton & repair the fencing around the whole planta-

tion, which he was pleased to leave in a wretched fix. The bad weather in January caused much delay in our progress; the whole crop of corn had to be gathered in baskets & carried out to the road by hand as the earth in the field was so wet as not to admit of the passage of a waggon over it. This you may imagine was tedious, but it was the only chance.

Notwithstanding all this backset, I shall have 400 acres of very good ground in cotton, which will yield 200 bales of cotton averaging 400 lbs., I think; also 250 acres of land in corn, which will make an abundance; & fifty acres in oats. The hogs look well; so with the additions which I have made to the stock by purchasing all of the hogs owned by the negroes, I think we can raise every pound of meat for another years consumption.

If I live, I intend another winter not only to fence in all of the cleared land on the place, but to set to work & make horizontal ditches on the hill sides, so as to prevent the fresh land from being torn into gullies by washing rains. The 300 acres of new ground cannot be excelled as cotton land by any land I have ever seen, but as it lies rolling, it would soon wash, as it is so light & mellow, if pains is not taken to prevent it.

I wish to begin next winter, if the other business of fencing does not prevent, to prepare to build by degrees good framed negro houses, with brick chimnies. Before doing this I will show you an estimate of the cost, which will not be much, with the aid of the experience I have in such matters.

I have told you before that I was pleased with the old Hurricane. I have looked over it again & repeat, I would not give it, if it was mine, for no plantation of 2200 acres of land, in Georgia.

By making the permanent improvements, I have in view, & in the course of a few years reducing the force to 25 or 30 hands, it will be rich inheritance for your children, instead of an old worn out place, as it has been considered.

Dr. Little, the Physician of Mr. Gibson's patronizing, called to see me, while at the Hurricane, with his bill of $500.00. I gave him the plainest talk, – & I reckon myself tolerable good at a plain job – that he has ever had since he left his Ma's knee, I expect. He left, determined on plunging into law, up to the eye-brows, which course I advised him to pursue. I spoke rudely to the Dr. as I considered his account a part of a system of plunder that has been going on against you. I told him so. But there was some "method in my madness", as I intended my remarks as precepts for the overseer & neighbours, in future cases. The effect will be good. . .

(c) To Howell Cobb Macon, May 5, 1844.

Dear Howell: Yours of the 9th was waiting for me on my return from Jefferson, where I had gone to give out summer clothes. Linam desired that I would delay any engagement for another years service, until my return in Novr. I found out that he & his wife are desirous of moving to Ala. next year was the reason of desiring delay. Altho I was loth to do so I consented to put off the matter so long, inasmuch as I expect he will be unable to move next year & will consequently stay with us. I like his management & tractability and as the negroes like him too, I am anxious to retain him.

The crop looks very well in despite of the excessive drought. In some sections the cotton has never come up & in others where it is up it is dying for want of rain. My places & Cherry hill are lucky in a good stand, &

good looking cotton. The corn is small, but looks green & shows no disposition to twist & turn yellow, like some I have seen. How we fare at the Hurricane I am not apprized, I go there in the morning & will write on my return.

Tell Aunt Sylvia that Polly and Eliza are well & look as lively as two crickets. Polly's occupation is to carry water in the fields to the hands. Eliza amuses herself by driving up the cows, & turning out the calves, and has learned to sing out like an old drover. They seem so pleased with life at Cherry hill, that I think they will be unwilling to exchange it for a residence at the Cowpens or Athens when their mistress comes home. . .

(d) To Howell Cobb Macon, Feb. 17, 1845.

Dear Howell: I have just received yours of the 12th and hasten to answer it.

With reference to the Florida estate the arrangements for making a crop this year with the negroes was the only saving one I could make under the circumstances, as to have removed them to Georgia would have been to have thrown away all the corn, meat & other et ceteras, besides not having any place for them here.

And my suggestions as to dividing them or farming jointly hereafter with them & the Andrews negroes, was based on what I thought the impracticability of selling to advantage in Florida, and I could not bear the idea of bringing them off to Georgia & selling them to be separated from each other.

As Mr. Levy wishes to purchase I am willing to sell the whole establishment. Andrew, I know, would prefer the money to the negroes. You can tell Mr. Levy for me that he can have them at an average of $350, three hundred & fifty dollars. The negroes are un-

usually likely, as he no doubt is aware was the general character of Maj. Robinson's negroes. In the lot is a superior Blacksmith, a wheel wright, a shoemaker who understands tanning, a weaver, a plain cook, and a pastry cook. The young negroes are as likely and intelligent as I ever saw. Maj. Robinson was attentive to the morals of his negroes, and they bear the reputation of being honest, among all the neighbors. There are thirty six of them in number, at present & the prospect of an accession of one or two more, by birth.

If Mr. Levy is desirous of taking the whole lot at the price named, I will meet him at any time he may designate at Marianna and shew him the negroes & conclude the trade. In the meantime he can consult the following citizens of Jackson County, Florida, who acted as appraisers at the division of the estate, & are I believe among the leading men of that county as to the character & value of the negroes, viz: Col. Wm. McNealy, I. G. Rowlac, Esq., I. I. Edwards, Elijah Bryan, Thomas M. White.

If Mr. Levy wishes to purchase, ask him in designating a time to meet me at Marianna, to name some day antecedent to the month of June, as although an admirer of the balmy atmosphere of Florida, in the winter & spring, I being of a bilious habit & terribly opposed to mosquitos, would dislike a summer visit there.

And let me say in your private ear, if he is not disposed to give 350 $ average, do not let the bargain be broken off as I will take something less. But the terms must be cash – have that understood. . .

(e) To Howell Cobb Macon, Feb. 19, 1845.

. . . Cotton is dull – prices have receded a little and the whole world of planters, buyers &c are on tip

toe for the news by the steamer which left Liverpool on the 4th February. My prayers are fervent for advices of a ha'penny advance & large sales, great demand for cotton goods, spinners prosperous, corn plenty & all that sort of parlance, so interesting to us poor toads under a harrow, yclept planters of cotton. . .

(f) To Mrs. Howell Cobb Macon, Dec. 2, 1845.

. . . Your life for two years [*i.e.*, as a congressman's wife] has been on the two extremes. Mine is so much the same way that I know just how it is. I am one half the year rattling over rough roads with Dr. Physic & Henry, stopping at farmhouses in the country, scolding overseers in half a dozen counties & two states (Florida & Geo.), and the other half in the largest cities of the Union, or those of Europe, living on dainties & riding on rail-cars and steamboats.

When I first emerge from Swift Creek, into the Hotels and shops on Broadway of a summer, I am the most economical body that you could imagine. The fine clothes and expensive habits of the people strike me forcibly. I think like John Grier, in one of Howell's tales, of my "poor land," and how hard my money comes, concluding that such things may answer for rich folks but don't suit me. In a week I become used to everything – and in a month I forget my humble concern on Swift Creek & feel as much a nabob as any of them: – none of Frost's clothes seem high & Cozzens Champaign appears moderate, very, at two dollars a bottle. . . We are very much like chameleons in our ideas, – they take their dimensions very much from the objects that surround us. At home when everything is plain & comfortable, we look on any thing beyond that point as extravagant. When abroad where things are

on a greater scale, our ideas keep pace with them. I always find such to be my case. And if I live to a hundred I reckon it will always be so. . .

(g) To Howell Cobb Macon, Apr. 12, 1846.

. . . I returned from Florida on the 2nd. You never wrote me what Levy said about buying those negroes in Florida. I am so tired of travelling night & day through those pine woods that I feel like letting my interest off like a county bridge – to the lowest bidder to be rid of the annoyance. I am taken away from home, from important business, & jolted to death in the stage, & what I dislike worse, thrown into constant company of my relations about it, & it's all to be of no profit to any of us in its present shape. I tried to swap my share to Andrew for his Early lands [*i.e.* in Early county, Ga.], & offered my share of the Andrews negroes to boot, to be quit of it. But he hemmed & ha'd & didn't know whether he would do it or not, until I got so nervous that by way of relief I mounted a hard trotting horse & rode a half a day in the pine woods, for relief. Damn his Early lands, I had no particular use for them, only that it would be a happy exchange of a quiet piece of property for a troublesome one. The lands would lie still & not bother me, like the negroes, and when I would go to look at them I would have no Uncles & Auntys & Cousin this, that & tother in that neighborhood. I wish Levy would buy the negroes, for I'll be shot if I know what to do with them.

I go to the Hurricane tomorrow. I heard from Jefferson direct yesterday. They are getting on well & have a promising crop. But Linam left us precious little in the way of Corn, fodder & meat to go on.

As soon as I go "the grand round," I will come up

to the Cowpens, say about the 25th inst. I want to see you & have a long talk on matters & things in general.

I have hired waggons to hawl off the balance of the Hurricane Cotton. Harvey makes so much there, it takes all the year to get it to market. 35 bags have been hawled of the 150 which were left over at the plantation. Cotton's rising thank God, I hope it will stay up until all is got to market. . .

PS Tell Sister, trotting down to Florida has put me as much out of sorts as before I went to Europe. I wish to God I could go over again this year but its out of the question. I'll go next year certain, if I dont die on the road to Florida. I have to go down again in June – just think of that will you, to divide the land and cows, as Col. John Milton failed to meet me according to promise on the 15th March for the purpose of division.

(h) To Mrs. Cobb Macon, Apr. 22, 1846.

. . . While I was absent I had a young negro woman killed by a mule. She was riding him from the field to the house with the other plough hands, and had the traces wound up to form a sort of stirrup. The mule shied out of the road & threw her, & her feet hitching in the traces, she was dragged to death. She was a sister of Philip, named Luncinda, about 20 years old & remarkably likely. . .

(i) To Howell Cobb Macon, Dec. 29, 1846.

. . . I am up to my eyebrows in business just now, I have just this day moved my squadron off to Sumpter. I only returned from Florida last week, where I put my little family in motion for the same destination as those who have gone today. I go to Baldwin tomorrow to see a new overseer installed at the Hurricane & then push back to see a new one I have at my Bibb place, and then

away as fast as I can scamper to Sumpter to put a new overseer to work there on a plantation almost as new to me as to him. If I had been brought up a business man, & was systematic, I should get on very smoothly, but never taking to business until 30 years of age, I find myself frequently with matters of importance calling my attention & presence at two places 100 miles apart at the same time. I can't be at both places at once, and things go wrong & annoy me. But I do the best I can & that is all a man can do.

(j) To Howell Cobb Macon, Jan. 10, 1847.

With reference to my management of the Trust estate, it is not conducted to advantage by any means. I am dissatisfied with its condition & prospects, but how to better them I can't devise under the circumstances. My health is such that I cannot attend to it & my own business as I should like. If my health was good, my business I guess together would wear out an iron frame, scattered as it is, and addle a better head than mine. Then to cultivate so much thin & even poor land with such an able force looks like throwing work away. I have an opportunity of purchasing a tract in Baker of 2000 acres, 600 cleared and ready for cultivation. I can get it cheap at 8000 $ and have 1, 2 & 3 year (without interest) to pay it in. The hands sent to it, say half your force or less, would pay for it out of the crops easily, without calling on the Baldwin crop at all. But you see my own interests come in to prevent my acceding to the offer.

I have established a large planting interest in Sumpter, having purchased 2500 acres. Of this I have paid for one place 5500 $ already & have 1 & 2 years to pay 4000 for the other. Now you see at one extremity of this land & joining the first place I bought, I have a

neighbor owning 600 acres of most superior land, which I shall buy to add to my last purchase, which will make me one place of unequalled fertility. And at the other extremity I have a chance of buying from an estate 1200 acres, joining the second purchase, which added to it will make a plantation scarcely inferior to the above named. All put together will make an investment of 24,000 $. I have already paid 5500 $. I shall be able to pay say 5000 $ out of the crop of this year. And then I shall have 14,000 $ to pay in one & two years. This is pretty extensive business for one so scary as I am about pecuniary responsibility. But I have ciphered it out and it can be done without risk. With the arable land I already have and what is on the two places to be purchased, considering the quality, for it is all fresh & rich as river bottoms, I can pay through easy. I have made my calculations safely. I have estimated my crops at 1/3rd less than an average & calculated on 6 cents per pound for cotton, & I can pay out & have a surplus. After this recital you see I shall be too heavy laden to take on the Baker place for the Trust estate until I get through with Sumpter.

Lord, Lord, Howell you and I have been too used to poor land to know what crops people are making in the rich lands of the new counties. I am just getting my eyes open to the golden view. On those good lands, when cotton is down to such a price as would starve us out, they can make money. I have moved 1/3rd of my force to Sumpter. I shall move another 1/3rd this fall or winter, leaving the remaining 1/3rd to cultivate the best lands on my Bibb place. This year I shall do better than I ever have done, & next I shall do better than I ever expected to do. This year I shall cultivate very little poor land & next year I shall not waste labour on

a foot of unprofitable soil. All will be of the 1st quality. When I work through I will try & help you onward to the promised land. But for 2 years after the present one, I shall be up to my chin in responsibility. I hate responsibility, but I have figured it out, that unless I take some as other prudent folks do I shall be like John Grier of Chack farm cultivating poor land all my life, which I am resolved not to do.

(k) To Howell Cobb Macon, May 16, 1847.

. . . The crop of this year promises to exceed that of last year so far. At any rate you have more land planted in cotton and we may safely calculate on 300 bags I think, and there is every prospect now that it will command a remunerating price. I shall have a new screw at the Hurricane & have the bags to average 400 lbs. this next crop at both places. 300 bags at 400 lbs. the bag, at 10 cts. would bring 12,000 $. This is counting chickens before they are hatched, but present prospects promise that result. If it does turn out so it will look more like paying debts than the prices of many years past. But even such a result is small to what your income ought to be, during good prices, if your property was properly balanced. You have a large and effective force of hands, more effective than any of the same number I know of in the State. But they cultivate a large proportion of poor land, and there is not enough of even poor land in Baldwin for them to be properly employed. This will not! must not be, much longer! Thirty good hands are sufficient to cultivate all the rich spots on these old places in Baldwin. That number could be employed as profitably there as anywhere else, as there is some land there that is rich. Now think of your having nearly 90 hands that work out, only one third paying any profit, while all the rest have to be fed,

clothed &c. just as expensively as if they were at work on good land. At low prices for cotton such a system will not much over pay expenses. At high prices it will pay just enough to make a body sigh over what they could do if the remaining two thirds were profitably employed, in place of being an expense. Thirty hands at the Hurricane ought to make 150 bags of cotton. Sixty more on good lands in Sumpter, Lee & Baker, the worst years they have, would make 300 bags – 450 bags of cotton is the least you ought to make & the least you would make if your business was balanced properly & managed with only ordinary energy. This would be a minimum crop to be safely calculated on. More energy & attention in a good crop year would swell it to over 500 bags. The increase of your negroes (& they increase like rabbits) would soon carry the figures much higher, & 10 or twelve years ought to double them. Now this is no fancy work. It is "true as preaching." But cut my calculation – which is moderate – down to a crop of 400 bags for your force on good lands, which is little over 4 bags to the hand & at 10 cents it would bring you 16,000 $ – 6 cts. it would bring about $10,000 – and even at 5 cts. it would bring 8,000 $. So you see with proper disposition of your force, a few years of good prices would pay any kind of debts, & then if cotton should fall to the distressing rates current for some past years, or even to the lowest price we have known in 1842, there would be enough to allow 2500 $ for expenses and leave 5500 $ for a man to live like a prince on & yet be able to add to his landed property as the income & growth of his young negroes demanded.

I have been asleep to my interests for 10 years. I have just woke up from a regular Rip Van Winkle nap & found every body round me advancing & I just hold-

ing my own on poor lands, that were (most of them) exhausted before I ever saw them. In my zeal of a new convert to the doctrine of "progress" – I went down to Sumpter and bought 17,500 $ worth of choice land while cotton was selling at 6 cents & land low in proportion. I have paid $5500 of that amount & if my crop this year don't pay the balance of 12,000 & leave me a handsome surplus I shall think myself very unlucky. And my planting arrangements are not this year fully developed either, as I do not get possession of one plantation (included in the above named purchase) until next Christmas. When I get that & divide my force into three plantations & cultivate lands as rich as any in Georgia, I shall begin to reap the benefits of my new energy.

I have intended as soon as I paid for my lands, which from the rise in Cotton I can now do with one crop (instead of two as I expected when I bought) to select a place & purchase it for your hands. But the rise in Cotton has increased the value of lands awfully. You can judge of the ideas of people as to the appreciation in the value of cotton lands, from the fact that my neighbors estimate my purchases as worth nearly fifty per cent on the prices I paid. But "what goes up must come down," as the school boys used to say when a gourd of water was thrown over the heads of their fellows. Cotton will fall & lands will fall & a short time hence we may find another chance of buying. Buy we must! That is a fixed fact, there is no getting around it. It must be done. The fractions on the Flint River are choice lands and by buying some lots of good land joining we might make a plantation at an expense of 4 or 5000 $, but then it would be all in the woods & have to be cleared. And hammock land is awful to clear, so that we could make

nothing on the place for nearly three years. As lands are too high to purchase "an improved place," this course may be best. We will talk of it when we meet. I want to talk matters and things in general over to you & you must prepare to be bored egregiously when I come.

. . . Aren't party matters in a nice snarl? The Calhoun men will ruin us in Georgia & the Northern Democrats ruin us every where. I think the "Crisis" of this country is coming now sure enough. If the Union of these States survives the next administration (whosever it may be) I shall think it will last forever. But I somehow think we shall all blow up & divide off into little guerilla parties & fight each other for the next half century. If I can see straight, there are awful clouds lowering over the Southern States.

(1) To Howell Cobb Macon, Feb. 7, 1848.

Dear Howell: Having two trips to make to Florida I have been run off my legs to catch up with my business at home, and as soon as I came back I had to hurry off to the Hurricane & Cherry hill to set things going. Overseers are very much given to stretching their prerogatives in matters pertaining to their own inclinations, but very strict constructionists in things where they ought to exercise a proper judgement in the absence of their employers. The hands I sent up from Jefferson to pick out the Hurricane cotton, would I expect never have been sent home, unless I had gone & seen them off myself.

Lynam made a miserable crop of 105 bags of cotton, and a crop of corn that will not last more than half the year. In view of which in connection with the scarcity of meat there, as well as the demise of the three horses you bought for that place, which with a full force of

hands would render the purchase of several mules necessary, I concluded to curtail the force to 30 hands, and have sent the other 10 to the Hurricane where there is plenty of corn, more meat & more horse power & where they can be more profitably employed.

I am getting in the unfenced fields at the Hurricane, and have some idea of purchasing the Widow Harris' plantation, which joins & can be had for 1500 $ I think, and establishing two plantations joining each other, if you approve of the plan. The Harris place and a portion of the Hurricane lands lying out, will make an excellent plantation. And by concentrating the business, I can manage it more efficiently, at one half, or less, of personal wear & tear in riding to see to the business. As the business now is, it worries me almost to death to attend to it properly. And as long as I pretend to attend to it, my disposition is to carry on everything as economically, profitably & and with the same eye to the future as I do my own business.

The Hurricane crop will amount to some 250 bags of cotton & plenty of corn. We killed there 85 hogs for meat. The cotton of both places amounts to about 355 bags, which owing to the failure in Jefferson is 45 bags short of my calculation when we planted. There is yet about 100 bags at the Hurricane to gin & pack, and 50 not hauled away. I have drawn on Habersham for the wages of the two overseers, 400 $ each. . .

(m) To Mrs. Cobb Macon, Nov. 18, 1849.

My dear Sister: . . . I left particular directions with Mr. Buckner about the curing of your hams. I told him to put up 100 hams weighing from 15 to 18 lbs, when made into bacon. He professes to be very knowing in such matters & I hope will prove so. He puts a pinch of salt petre on the fleshy part of the ham. He

ashes his hams he says in leached ashes, & says they will not give it that strong Westphalia-ham sort of flavour that unleached ashes do. He says to keep your hams well when you get them, you ought to have auger holes bored & long pegs driven into the scantling on the sides of your smoke house & lay two lathes on the pegs to put the hams on. Lathes are better than board-shelves as they let the air to the meat freely. The hams must be laid with the skin side down, & must not be piled on each other but laid in single rows. There will be considerable surplus of meat at the Hurricane this next year as there is the present. There will be about 31,000 lbs of pork killed at that place alone, which will make nearly 20,000 lbs bacon. It takes nearly 16,000 lbs bacon to do the place, 1000 lbs for the overseer – 1 or 2000 lbs hams for you & then leave 1 or 2000 lbs for "dodging", which may mean allowing for mistakes in weighing out allowances or to entertain the overseers company or stealage or any casualties that nobody can guard against who dont live on a plantation. . .

9 ILL SUCCESS IN NONRESIDENT PLANTING; ALABAMA, 1835: EXPERIMENT ABANDONED

(a) Letter of Daniel McMichael, Lowndes County, Ala., Sept. 10, 1835, to Thomas Glover, Orangeburgh, S.C. MSS. of this and the two following letters in the possession of A. S. Salley Jr., Columbia, S.C.

Dear Sir: Your letter came to hand a few days ago Requesting me to See Mr. Bodie if he wold come to Carolina and live with you there he says the least that he will come for is $325 Dollars and you bear hs expences and let his wages go on from the time that he starts I dont beleve that you can get a better man than Bodie he can get $400 in this country but he wants to go to Carolina I wrote to your Brother Some time back

abot the crop I am sorry to inform you that the crops fallen off one half since the worms is taken our cotton crop they take all they Small bold cotton was backward in this country owing to the dry Spring the thruth is we may Say that the year have all ben dry but three weeks which came the right time for corn we is Burnt up now and I beleve that is the ca[u]se of the worms you wish me to give you som accont of what we will make I cannot give any account of what [we] will make the worms is goin on and destroy half g[r]own bolds they are generally as far as I have herd from our crops is half lost at this time we are all well on your place and your Brothers I rite a few lines to your Brother which I hope you will show him you writen to me to now the price of lands and negroes they have ben good lands sold here for less than cost at govenment price it takes a very prime fellow to bring $500 dolls. you can tell Mr Hall that it is verry unsertin when Wolf Pon land will be sold it may not be Sold in five years to come they is 80 acres of the estate of Williams Pon that will sute his plan with a good house on it but no cleard land I suppose that his land, will be sold in January I dont expect to make near as much Cotton as I did last year and I dont beleve any person will as far as my knowllege extends. every creek in this contry is dry and I expect that our cattle and hogs will perish for water and perhaps ourselves nothing more at present but Remain yours.

[postage 25 cts.] DANIEL MCMICHAEL.

(b) Letter of T. W. Glover, Orangeburgh, S.C., Sept. 21, 1837, to Daniel McMichael, Lowndes County, Ala.

Dr. Mac: I regret to hear from yr. letter that the crop has so much failed but there will be one consolation, the hands can gather it sooner & be out here earlier –

You will say to Mr. Boddie that I will give him $325 per year & his wages beginning the day he starts from Alabama – This you know is more than I ever gave & I now do so on your recommendation – If he accept it, I wish him to come out with my negroes & Stroman's as soon as he gathers the crop – The sooner he is here the better – He must prepare the wagon & get the mules in order – but about the preparation to come I leave to you entirely – If a mule or horse must be bought, do get one cheap as they are very low here, & I would not want more than 2.– You will oblige me by selling the cotton as soon as possible so that all our debts may be paid & Mr. B. may have enough to bring him out – We wish you to sell everything that Mr. B. does not need to bring with him. If you think the corn & fodder had better be kept longer do so – After you have paid all we owe in Alabama & yourself – you may send the balance of the money by Mr. B. if you can get So. Ca. Bills – if not wait till you can buy a draft and send it by mail – Let Mr. B. have all our receipts, papers, &c. Let us know if anyone wants our place at a fair price – If not can it be rented on good terms? – We do not wish it neglected or go to ruin –

Say to Mr. B. I am fixing up my place & the houses, &c, will be in good order – You would hardly know it – I have made a good crop of corn, &c, & have had no sickness. It is a very healthy place – I wish you to write to me by the earliest mail that I may hear from you, if pos, by 20 Oct. Good health & good corn crops here – Sea board injured by storms, &c.

(c) Letter of Daniel McMichael, Lowndes County, Ala., Oct. 11, 1837, to T. W. Glover, Orangeburgh, S.C.

Dear Sir: Yours came to hand last evening I have perswaded Mr Bodie to except the offer I dont know

how your hands will go to travel Riner and Emaline will they say be confind about the last December or the first January and that will be as soon as they can get ready your new ground cotton will not open much until frost we had another north east Storm that lasted from Friday until Mon evening I beleve to speak in reason that I have lost Ten Bags of cotton and yours in proportion had it not been for this storm we wold have made more cotton than we expect however I beleve your crop will make 20 bags yet Mr Bodie has 16,000 wt seed cotton pict out and I have 36000 thousand you can inform your Brother but cannot gin for the want of rope the river fell so early this spring that no person in my knowlege has rope nor bag but only them that had it left from last year corn they will be no sale now for it perhaps it will sell next summer and lands will not sell for $3 per acre the Twentieth Section that join your lands is offered at three dollars but no buyer lands will not sell in this country for five years to come they is thousands of acres that will be sold by the Sheriff an is selling now there was prime land sold a few days since at 70 cts per acre as to rent I dont beleve they will be any chance for that you must rite your lowes prices perhaps some person may come traveling along that might buy Mr Bodie will have to have 1 horse you say they is low in Carolina it [is] not the case here you can inform your Brother that I expect to make 50 bags cotton.

10 PLANTATION BY-INDUSTRIES

(a) Letter of Alexander Spotswood, Governor of the Colony of Virginia, March 20, 1710, to the British Council of Trade. Virginia Historical Society *Collections*, vol. i, 72-74. Depression in staples leads to diversification of industry.

. . . The unhappy circumstances of the trade of this Colony oblige me to lay before your Lordships the

consequences which I am apprehensive it may have on that of Great Britain without the application of some proper and speedy remedy. The great number of negroes imported here (so long as there remained any money or credit in the country to buy them) and solely employed in making tobacco, hath produced for some years past an increase of that commodity far disproportioned to the consumption that could be made of it in all the markets which the war had left open, and by a Natural Consequence Lowered the price to a great degree. This was first felt in those parts of the country where tobacco is reputed mean, and the people being disappointed of the necessary supplies of cloathing for their familys in return for their tobacco, found themselves under a necessity of attempting to Cloath themselves with their own manufactures. And the Market for tobacco still declining and few stores of goods brought in, other parts of the country, through the like necessity, have been forced into the same humour of planting Cotton and sowing Flax, and by mixing the first with their wool to supply the want of coarse Cloathing and Linnen, not only for their Negroes but for many of the poorer sort of housekeepers. This is now become so universal that even in one of the best countys for tobacco, I'm credibly informed there has been made this last year above 40,000 yards of divers sorts of Woolen, Cotton, and Linnen Cloth, and other countys where tobacco is less valuable have no doubt advanced their manufacturers proportionably. Tho' this be at present the general humor of the country, it is introduced more by necessity than by inclination, and the people are so little skilled in this kind of manufacture that they will with difficulty attain any tolerable perfection in it, and own that what they make now costs them dearer than

that they usually had from England, when their tobacco bore but a tolerable price. . .

(b) Extract from *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (London, 1649), reprinted in Peter Force's *Tracts*, vol. ii. An early Virginia planter as captain of varied industry.

. . . Worthy Captaine Matthews, an old Planter of above thirty yeers standing, one of the Counsell, and a most deserving Common-wealths-man, I may not omit to let you know this Gentleman's industry.

He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sowes yeerly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps Weavers, and hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in this trade, hath forty Negroe servants, brings them up to Trades in his house: He yeerly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley &c. The Wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell; kills store of Beeves, and sells them to victual the ships when they come thither: hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine great store, and Poltery; he married the Daughter of Sir Tho. Hinton, and in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, and a true lover of Virginia; he is worthy of much honour. . .

(c) Extracts from the "Diary of John Harrower, Virginia, 1774-1775," *American Historical Review*, vol. vi, 91, 103, 105. Spinning and weaving at odd hours.
December 6, 1774. Letter to Wife.

There grows here plenty of extream fine Cotton which after being pict clean and readdy for the cards is sold at a shilling the pound; and I have at this time a great high Girl Carline as black as the . . . spinning some for me for which I must pay her three shillings the pound for spinning it for she must do it on nights or on Sunday for any thing I know notwithstanding

she's the Millers wife on the next Plantation. But Im determined to have a webb of Cotton Cloath According to my own mind, of which I hope you and my infants shall yet wear a part. . .

Munday, October 16th, 1775. This morning 3 men went to work to break, swingle and heckle flax and one woman to spin in order to make course linnen for shirts to the Nigers, This being the first of the kind that was made on the plantation. And before this year there has been little or no linnen made in the Colony.

Tuesday, 17th. Two women spinning wool on the bigg wheel and one woman spinning flax on the little wheel all designed for the Nigers. . .

Saturday, January 13th, 1776. After 12 O Clock I went six Miles into the Forrest to one Daniel Dempsies to see if they wou'd spin three pound of cotton to run 8 yds. per lb., 2/3 of it belonging to Miss Lucy Gaines for a goun and 1/3 belonging to myself for Vestcoats, which they agd. to do if I carried the cotton there on Saturdy. 27th Inst. . .

Munday, 15th. Miss Lucy spinning my croop of cotton at night after her work is done; to make me a pair of gloves.

Wednesday, 17th. This evening Miss Lucy came to school with Mr. Frazer and me, and finished my croop of cotton by winding it, after its being doubled and twisted the whole consisting of two ounces. . .

Saturday, 27th. After 12 pm I went to the forrest to the house of Daniel Dempsies and carried with me three pound of pick'd Cotton two of which belongs to Miss Lucy Gaines and one to me, which his wife has agreed to spin to run 8 Yds. per lb., I paing her five shillings per lb. for spinning it and it is to be done by the end of May next. . .

(d) Letter of George Washington, Mount Vernon, Jan. 23, 1773, to Thos. Newton Jr., merchant at Norfolk, Va. MS. copy in Washington's hand, in the Library of Congress, *George Washington Papers*, vol. xvii, 85. A fishery incidental to plantation operation.

To –THOMAS NEWTON, JUNR. ESQR. Marcht. in Norfolk.

Sir: By the Liberty Wm. Heath I send you 80 Barrl. of Herrings pr. receipt Inclosed; which please to dispose of for April pay; or, if price can be enhancd by it, for that of July.–

As I have never yet sold a Barrl. of my Fish under 15/ at my Landing – as I know them to be good (equal, if not superior to any that is transported from this Country) – and in no danger of spoiling by keeping, being well cured, and well pack'd in tight Cask; I shall hope that you will be able, between this and the coming of the New Fish, to sell these for 15/ clear of Freight & Commission.– Some of the same Cargo shipd in the Fairfax by a Gentn. to whom I sold them, fetchd 25/ in Jamaica; when other Herrings on board the same Vessell scarce reachd 12/6, & some again sold for less than 10/ a Barrell.–

I have now a Vessell waiting (at the mouth of the Creek on which my mill stands) to take in Flour to your address, but the Ice prevents the delivery of it – A few days may produce a change, and enable me to load it – The quantity to be sent cannot be ascertaind; as the Stoage of the Sloop is unknown; perhaps there may be about 200 Barrl. of Superfine Burn – 50 of Midling Do.– and 50 of Bisquet stuff, as it is supposed the Vessell will carry about 300 Barrl. in all. . .

PS. If you have an oppertunity, I should be obliged to you for sendg. a Barrel of these Fish to Mrs. Dawson of Wmsburg, & let her know that it is sent as a compliment from Yr. ser. G. W.——N.

(e) Same to same; Mount Vernon, Dec. 14, 1773. MS. copy in Washington's handwriting, *ibid*, 113. Flour milling and biscuit making.

To Thomas Newton Junr. Esqr. Norfolk.

Sir: Inclosed you have Invoice of 26 Barrl of Biscuit stuff; which with 35 sent off before I came home, will be more than sufficient I conceive to mix with the middlings for Bread; if so, please to dispose of the overplus for, and on my acct., as also of the Bread when baked, and send me an acct. of the proceeds, with the Cash, if any proper opportunity offers to Alexandria to the care of Messrs. Rbt. Adam & Company – Please to let me know what you think my best Superfine Flour would sell at in Norfolk (freight to be paid by the purchaser) – I have none, at least a very trifling quantity by me at present, having sold all I have hitherto made at two pence pr. lb.–

With the Flour, you will receive a Barrel of White thorn Berrys for his Excellency the Govr. which please to forward with the Inclosed Letter by the first opperty. – charge the freight down to me – If you have heard anything of the Brig Anne & Elizabeth, Captn. Pollocks please to inform me thereof by the Post and you will much oblige, Sir, Yr. Most Obed. Servt.

Mt. Vernon Decr. 14th, 1773. Go. Washington.

(f) Extract from a letter of Elisha Cain, overseer on Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., Sept. 11, 1829, to his employer, Alexander Telfair, Savannah. MSS. of this and the three following in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah.

As regards the weaving, 138 yards of Cotton Cloth is now wove, and 368 Do. wollen. They are going on with the spinning and weaving. Friday has not wove any. There is plenty of wool to keep them busy a length of time. I had 113 fleeces which weighed 475 lbs.

(g) Extract from same to same, Nov. 5, 1829.

Nancy has the tenth Peace of wool Cloth now in the Loom. Friday has not wove any this year or since he came here. He could not weave and has not done much of anything but attende the Horses. As the hands who are spining cotton are ahead of the weavers I have now Put two of them to spin wool which will cause the weaveing to go on much faster than it has been.

(h) Extract from same to his employer, Miss Mary Telfair, Savannah, Ga., Oct. 25, 1833.

I received the box containing waistcoats handkerchiefs &c. & have given them out as they were marked, several of the hands are lacking (viz) Toney, John, Sawney,– grown hands. Little Jim, Harculas, Bob, Sippio, Sandy, Andrew, William Stephen, which are small boys. Peggy, Lidia, Kate, small girls. As regards the wool homespun, I have only eight pieces of 45 yards each, now made. The pair of cotton cards which you wish to be informed of, has been received, Nanny sent for them without my knowledge, which she said she wanted for the purpose of making Towels. The six pair which Mr. had an account of, were received also, they were for Jinney, Hannah, Mary, Cotton cards – & Nanny, Nancy, Charity, wool cards –. The women that will want baby clothes are Peggy, young Hetty, Venus, Priscilla, Amy, Mary & Inda.

(i) Extract from a letter of James Gannelly, overseer on the Mills Plantation, Burke County, Ga., Jan. 11, 1835, to his employer, Miss Mary Telfair, Savannah.

Phyllis wove 2 pices of wool & cotton 50 yds in each piece & put in annother piece of 50 yds & the wool give out at weaving about 25 yds the Balance was filled out with Cotton. that will make 125 yds Phyllis wove. I give to the Children a cording to size. an infant 1½.

size like Iffrey 4 yds – a bout 8 or 9 yds will be enough to send that will be for little Lucy and flornas 2 smalest children. I had a vary good thick piece of Cotton Cloth wove & the rest has taken of that that is Hannah old Lucy sussy Coffy they are not exposed to no weather in working out. I have recd 2 Tierces of salt the Negros are all well at this time & all other affairs.

II. PLANTATION ROUTINE

1 DAIRY OF WORK ON A SEA-ISLAND COTTON PLANTATION.

Extracts from the plantation diary of Thos. P. Ravenel, of Woodboo plantation, 1847-1850. MS. in the possession of the Ravenel family, Pinopolis, S.C. Woodboo plantation lay in St. John's parish, Berkeley county, about thirty miles north of Charleston. It contained about eleven hundred acres, of which probably less than one-fourth was in cultivation.

1847. January: 1, 2, preparing oats field. 4, ginning cotton. 5, planted 10 acres oats. 6, 7, making fence around oat field. 8, 9, 11, 12, sorting cotton. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, ginning and moting. 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, getting manure out of pond. 29, moting and ginning. 30, sorting cotton.

February: 1, getting out pond manure. 2, listing potato ground. 3, ginning and moting. 4, finished listing potato field. 5, 6, getting out pond manure. 8, 9, cleaning ground. 10, 11, 12, getting pond manure. 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, listing cotton ground. 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, ditching and mending fence. 27, moting and ginning.

March: 1, 2, 3, bedding cotton ground. 4, 5, 6, ginning and moting. 8, 9, bedding cotton ground. 10, 11, bedding potato ground. 12, sorting and ginning. 13, listing cotton ground. 15, 16, planted potatoes. 17, listing cotton ground. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, bedding cotton field. 26, cotton house work. 27, 28, 30, 31, bedding cotton field.

April: 1, 2, 3, planted about 50 acres cotton. 5, bed-

ding potato field. 6, 7, 8, picking joint grass. 9, bedding cotton field. 10, planted the rest of potato crop. 12, 13, bedding cotton ground. 14, planted the rest of my cotton. 15, working on the ditch, along the road. 16, 17, making fence. 19, 20, opening ditches in corn field. 21, 22, 23, working cotton. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, working cotton.

May: 1, 3, working cotton. 4, listing corn field. 5, 6, 7, got through first working of cotton. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, listing corn field. 14, planted 20 acres corn. 15, working potatoes. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, working cotton. 22, working potatoes. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, working cotton.

June: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, working cotton. 11, planted over my rice. 12, supplying cotton field in rice. 14, 15, 16, 17, working rice. 18, 19, 21, working potatoes. 22, working cotton. 23, planting slips. 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, working corn.

July: 1, 2, working corr. 3, planting slips. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, working corn. 10, planting slips. 12, got thro' first working of corn. 13, planted peas in corn. 13, working cotton. 16, shucking corn to send to Pooshee. 19, planting slips. 20, 21, working cotton. 22, 23, listing peas ground. 24, planted 8 acres peas. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, working cotton. Decidedly stuck in the grass.

August: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, working cotton. 13, listing ground for early peas. 14, planted early peas. 16, 17, working slips. 18, 19, working peas. 20, topped my cotton. 21, mending ditch and bank. 23, 24, stripping blades. 25, 26, working cornfield peas. 27, stripping blades. 28, 30, 31, working cornfield peas.

September: 1, working peas. 2, 3, stripping blades. 4, 6, 7, 8, working cornfield peas. 9, working early

peas. 10, 11, prepared turnip patch. 13, cleaning up old field. 14, 15, picked thro' crop of cotton. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, cleaning new ground. 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, picked thro' cotton. 29, picking cotton. 30, cleaning ground. Have in house 1200 lbs. cotton.

October: 1, 2, 4, cleaning new ground. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, picked thro' cotton. 15, 16, picking peas. 15, slight frost. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, picking cotton and peas. 25, 26, broke in corn. 27, 28, 29, 30, picking cotton.

November: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, picked thro' cotton 4 times [i.e. the fourth time.] 8, 9, picking cotton. 10, 11, 12, dug in slips. 13, picking cotton. 15, planted rye. 17, 18, 19, 20, picking cotton. 22, cleaning new ground. 23, ginning. 25, 26, 27, bring rails out of the swamp. 29, 30, ginning and moting.

December: 1, picking cotton. 2, 3, 4, moting and ginning. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, listing in manure. 11, planted rye and oats. 13, moting and ginning. 14, banking potatoes. 15, bedding over potatoes in field. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, moting and ginning. 24, making fence. 29, 30, 31, moting and ginning.

1848. January: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, moting and ginning. 1, burn over turpentine land. 3, commenced making boxes [i.e. to catch pine sap for turpentine.] 10, 11, 12, 13, picking cotton. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, moting and ginning cotton.

February: 1, 2, 3, moting and ginning. 4, 5, 7, 8, sorting cotton. 9, 10, 11, got thro' moting and ginning. Made 6 bags white and 2 of yellow cotton. 12, making slip field fence. 14, 15, 16, levelling field to list. 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, listing land.

March: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, listing ground. 8, 9, making cornfield fence. 10, ditching corn field. 10, 13, 14, list-

ing potato field. 15, 16, 17, bedding potato field. 18, picking out joint grass. 20, 21, planted potatoes. 22, 23, 24, making fence. 25, listing ground. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, bedding cotton.

April: 1, 3, bedding cotton land. 4, 5, planted 40 acres cotton. 6, getting rails out of the swamp. 7, listing ground for early peas. 8, cotton house work. 10, 11, listing ground for early peas. 12, trenching ground for rice. 13, planted early peas and fodder peas. 14, 15, planted rice. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, listing corn field. 27, 28, planting corn. 29, cleaning ditches.

May: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, working cotton. 2, slight hail storm. 10, making fence. 11, 12, 13, working potatoes. 15, working cotton. 16, 17, 18, working peas. 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, working cotton. 29, 30, 31, working corn.

June: 1, 2, 3, 5, working corn. 6, working rice. 7, planted peas in corn. 8, 9, working rice. 10, 12, 13, working potatoes. 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, working cotton. 28, 29, working peas. 30, listing ground for slips.

July: 3, 4, 5, listing and bedding slip field. 6, working corn. 7, 8, 10, planting slips. 11, 12, working corn. 13, working rice. 14, 15, picking early peas. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, working cotton. 24, planted peas. 25, 26, 27, got thro' working cotton. 28, planted peas. 29, picking peas. 31, stripping blades.

August: 1, topping cotton. 2, planting early peas, fall crop. 3, 4, stripping blades. 5, working slips. 7, planted peas. 8, 9, working slips. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, working peas. 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, stripping blades. 22, 23, working rice. Cut fodder peas. 26, 28, threshing rye. 29, picking grass out of slips. 30, 31, working peas.

September: 1, 2, 4, 5, working peas. 6, 7, picking cotton. 9, left home for Georgia; was away until November.

November: 2, 3, two killing frosts. 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, digging slips. 22, 23, 24, ginning & moting cotton. 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, picking cotton.

December: Picking, ginning & moting cotton.

1849. January: Picking, ginning & moting cotton. February: 3, burnt the field next the causeway to plant cotton. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, listing cotton land. 25, 27, 28, 29, ginning & moting.

March: 1, 2, 3, ginning and moting cotton. 5, burnt over turpentine woods. 6, finished listing cotton land. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, bedding cotton. 21, repairing fence. 22, 23, 24, 26, listing potato field. 27, 28, planted cotton. 33 acres. 29, 30, bedding potato ground. 31, planting potatoes.

April: 2, 3, planting potatoes. 4, making potato field. 5, planted 3 acres early peas. 6, making corn field fence. 7, raking around the pond to burn. 9, 10, ginning and moting cotton. 11, burnt the old field and big pond next to Northampton. 12, 13, 14, ginning and moting cotton. 15, sleet and snow storm. Cotton killed. 16, 17, planting over cotton crop. 18, 19, making fence on the ditch and bank along the road. Frost and ice. 20, moting and ginning cotton. Frost. 21, listed and planted fodder peas. 23, gave my people the day. 24, 25, 26, 27, moting and ginning cotton. 28, planted early peas. 30, listing corn field.

May: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, listing corn field. 10, the first good rail since March. 10, 11, planted corn crop, 20 acres. 12, planting rice. Thermometer 47. 14, 15, planting rice. 16, 17, working cotton. 18, rain. Cot-

ton house work. 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, working cotton.

June: 1, planted over my crop of corn, destroyed by crows. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, working cotton. 9, thin'd out my cotton to one. 10, 12, drew down potatoes. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, working cotton. 20, 21, 22, drew up potatoes. 23, threshing peas. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, working corn.

July: 2, 3, listing ground. 4, planted corn, 4 acres. 5, 6, 7, working corn. 9, planted slips by aid of Pooshee. [i.e. by the aid of hands from Pooshee plantation owned by this planter's father.] 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, working corn. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, listing peas ground. 23, planted peas. 24, 25, working, 4 acres of July corn. 26, planted peas. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, working cotton. 28, 30, 31, working 4th July corn.

August: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, working cotton. 13, stripping fodder. 14, 15, 16, 17, working slips. 18, 20, working my 4th July corn. Planted early peas in corn. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, working peas. 27, stripping blades. 28, working rice. 29, 30, 31, working corn field peas.

September: 1, working cornfield peas. 3, 4, 5, working 4th July corn. 6, 7, 8, stripping blades. 10, working early peas. 11, 12, 13, curing hay. 14, 15, getting rails and mending fence. 17, 18, 19, 20, picking cotton. 21, 22, stripping blades. 26, 27, cutting and putting up hay. 28, 29, picking cotton. Bought a pair of horse cart wheels in Pineville.

October: 1, 2, 3, 4, picking cotton. 5, 6, picking peas. 8, 9, 10, stripping blades. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, picking cotton. 20, 22, rain: cutting down weeds. 23, 24, 25, picking cotton. 26, picking peas. 27, 29, 30, cutting down weeds and listing.

November: 1, picking peas. 2, 3, 5, 6, picking cotton. 7, listing weeds. 8, 9, 10, picking cotton. 10, 11, kill-

ing frost. 12, 13, breaking in corn. 14, picking cotton. 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, digging slips. 22, 23, 24, picking cotton. 26, 27, listing ground. 28, 29, 30, picking cotton.

December: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, picking cotton. 11, listing ground. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, picking cotton. 20, 21, 22, 24, listing ground. 28, 29, planted rye. 21, commenced ginning cotton.

1850. January: 1, finished dipping turpentine. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, moting and ginning cotton. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, getting cypress slabs for fence along the creek. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, ginning and moting. 28, 29, 30, 31, raking turpentine Wood.

February: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, raking turpentine wood. 8, ginning and moting. 9, raking straw for manure. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, ginning and moting. 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, making post fence. 25, 26, 27, 28, ginning and moting.

March: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, got thro' ginning and moting. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, finished post and rail fence. 7, breaking cotton stocks. 8, 9, 11, listing potato field. 12, making cotton field fence. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, listing cotton ground. 22, 23, bedding cotton ground. 25, 26, 27, bedding potato field. 28, 29, 30, bedding cotton field.

April: 1, 2, bedding cotton field. 3, picking joint grass. 4, planted cotton. 23 acres. 5, 6, listing corn ground. 8, planted highland corn. 8, commenced clipping trees. [i.e., pine trees for turpentine.] 9, planted fodder peas. 9, 10, 11, planted potatoes. 12, bedding potato ground. 13, picking joint grass. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, repairing fence. 19, cotton up. 22, heading rails. 23, repairing fence. 24, 25, turning rice field. 26, mov-

ing and planting cow pen. 27, mending dam. 29, 30, working cotton.

May: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, working cotton. 8, 9, 10, bedding corn ground. 11, gave my people the day. 13, bedding corn field. 14, transplanting corn, thinning cotton. 15, 16, 17, bedding cornfield. 18, thinning cotton. 20, planting swamp corn. 21, worked highland corn. 22, planted rice. 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, working cotton. 29, 30, 31, working potatoes. 30, hail storm in Pinopolis neighboring crops much injured.

June: 1, got thro' working potatoes. 3, 4, working corn. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, working cotton third time. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, working corn. 15, 17, 18, worked potatoes. 18, Capt. Robertson found the first [cotton] blossom. at Wampee. 19, 20, working rice. 21, 22, working corn. 24, planting peas in corn. 24, 25, listing slip ground. 26, 27, 28, working cotton. 29, gave my people the day. 30, the first rain worth while for a month, the crops having suffered much from drought.

July: 1, planting slips. 2, listing and bedding slip ground. 3, 4, 5, got through 4th working of cotton. Laid by one half of my crop. 5, 8, 9, 10, working corn. 11, 12, planting slips and bedding land. 13, 15, working corn. 16, planting peas in corn. 17, 18, 19, laying by cotton. 20, 22, 23, planting slips part of each day. 20, 22, 23, list peas ground. 24, 25, planting peas. 25, 26, 27, listing peas ground. 29, 30, planting peas. 30, 31, working rice.

August: 1, 2, 3, working rice. 1, begun second dipping of turpentine. 5, listing and planting early peas. 4, sight hail, no injury. 6, 7, 8, 9, working slips. 10, working peas in corn. 12, patching slips. 13, working peas in corn. 14, 15, stripping blades. 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, working peas. 24, very stormy. 27, 28, working slips. 29, 30, 31, stripping blades.

September: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, stripping blades. 7, 9, working peas. 10, 11, 12, 13, picking cotton. 14, 16, working peas. Rain. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, got thro' first picking. 25, 26, 27, picking cotton. 20, commenced eating potatoes. 28, making potato field fence. 27, very heavy rain. 30, picking cotton.

October: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, picking cotton. Got thro' second picking of cotton. 15, 16, picking cotton. 17, broke in a small field of corn. 8, 9, very light frost. 18, 19, 21, picking peas. 22, 23, cutting hay. 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, picking peas.

November: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, picking peas. 7, cutting rice. 8, 9, breaking in corn. 11, picking peas, making cellar. 12, 13, 14, 15, digging slips. 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, picking cotton. Rain. 29, 30, ginning and moting cotton.

December: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, moting and ginning. Have about three bags of old cotton and two bags of new cotton.

2 ROUTINE OF INCIDENTALS ON A SEA-ISLAND PLANTATION

Memoranda by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, 1818-1819, of incidentals at his plantation on Pinckney Island, near Charleston, S.C. MS. in the Charleston College Library, written on blank pages in a volume of Hoff's *Agricultural Almanac* for 1818.

Negroes at Pinckney Island, April 12th. 1818: At the Crescent, 105; At the old place, 107; At the Point, 9; [total.] 221. . .

April 6th. Left Charleston in the steam boat with my Daughters at 6 o'clock this morning.

April 7th. Arrived at the Island about 9 o'clock this morning. Sent the boat a Drum fishing and caught 5 Drum. Gave a Drum to each of the overseers, and one among the Fishermen.

April 8th. Sent the small yawl a fishing with George, and Handy and little Abram from the old Place, and York & Dago from the Crescent; they caught 4 dozen Shrimp for bait last night & 14 Drum Fish today. Gave two to fishermen.

April 9th. The Fishermen caught 3 dozen shrimp as bait last night. Captn. Bythewood landed the articles from Charleston this morning. Took out of the store-room over the Kitchen 8 hams, 4 shoulders and 8 sides & out of a Box in the smoke House 1 ham and 3 shoulders & hung them all up to smoke.

Mr. Cannon sent today the meat of three Hogs (with the Hogs Lard,) well cured.

Mr. Johnston sent today the meat of three Hogs (with the Hogs Lard) well cured. Put the whole in Boxes in the store room over the kitchen.

Mr. Johnston sent yesterday one dozen fowls and four dozen eggs; and half a bushell of corn for the Pigeons. Mr. Cannon sent yesterday 2 Fowls and one dozen and one Eggs. Sent Captn. Rogers of the Steam Boat a Cauliflower, 3 White Brocoli & a Drum fish. He requested another which was fresher, and my Brother gave it to him. Gave three to the Fishermen and one to each of the overseers. 23 in the whole were caught.

April 10th. The Fishermen caught 14 Drum. Gave two to the Fishermen.

April 11th. Gave to the Negroes of each Plantation 14 heads 19 back bones & 37 sides, of Drum fish. Mr. Cannon sent one dozen and eight eggs.

The Fishermen caught 15 Drum. Gave the Fishermen two Drum.

April 12th. Gave to the Negroes of both plantations and at the Point Pipes, Tobacco & Salt.

April 13th. The Fishermen caught 10 Drum Fish.

Gave one to the Fishermen and one to each of the overseers.

April 14th. Gave to the Negroes of each Plantation six heads 17 Sides & 6 Back Bones.

Took up two Cows to feed last night; in the whole five are milked at present, which gave yesterday six quarts of Milk. . .

Mr. Cannon finished today planting at the Crescent. He has planted Cotton 146 acres. Corn 80 ditto. Sweet potatoes 10 do. Oats 25 do. Irish Potatoes near 2 do.

April 21st. The fishermen caught 5 drum none with roes. The steam boat did not pass from Charleston today.

April 22nd. Gosport & Quash from the Crescent & January & Bob from the old place are the Fishermen for the ensuing week.

The Crescent Fishermen caught 3 dozen shrimps last night & the old Place Fishermen one dozen.

The Fishermen caught only 3 drum. Gave one among them, & one to Captn. Rogers of the Steam Boat.

April 23rd. The two Cows that are fed gave 6 quarts this morning; the Cows (three) not fed gave four quarts. The Fishermen caught no drum.

April 24th. The Fishermen caught no Drum, but one turtle. The weather still continues cold.

April 25th. The fishermen changed their situation today to the northward of the Devil's Elbow, but still caught no Drum, the weather continuing cool, but not so cold as it was. . .

April 28th. The Fishermen caught 15 drum. Gave them two.

April 29th. 1818. Gave to the Negroes of each Plantation this morning 10 heads, 11 Backs and 23 sides of Drum Fish. Cuffie & Sambo from the Crescent and

Adam & Ceasar from the Old Place begun fishing today. The 2 fed cows gave 6 quarts this morning. The three out Cows gave four quarts, and a pint. Mr. Cannon sent 1 dozen eggs. James brought two chickens. The Fishermen caught 8 drum. Gave one to Capt. Rogers, one to themselves and one to each of the overseers. . .

Mr. Johnston has sent this evening the following account of the crop planted at the Old Place this year: On Harry Young's Old Ground, 46 acres; New Ground of 1817, 23 do; New Ground of 1818, 16 do; Total Cotton on Harry Youngs, 86 acres. On Pinckney Island: Pasture Land, 30 acres; New Ground of 1816, 20 do; New Ground of 1818, 10 do; Old Ground, 5 do; Total Cotton on Pinckney Island, 65 acres.– Cotton on Harry Young's, 86; Cotton on Pinckney Island, 65; Total Cotton at Old Place, 151 [acres].

Corn for 2 Ploughs, 42 acres; do. for the hoes, 40 do; Total Corn, 82 acres.

Sweet Potatoes, 10 acres; Irish do., 2 do; Oats planted & slips to be planted, about 23 do: [Total,] 35 acres. . . Total crop at Old Place, 268 acres.

. . . . . .

May 9th. Killed a Lamb from the old Place. Gave a hind quarter to the Overseers. Received from the old Place a pair of Geese and a pair of Ducks. Caught 6 drum, gave one to each of the overseers, and one to the Fishermen.

May 10th. Gave tobacco, pipes, salt and Fish Hooks to the Negroes of both Plantations, and at the Point. My Brother's carriages and Horses were sent over to Mr. Robertson's.

May 11th. My Brother, Mrs. Pinckney and Miss Drayton left us after breakfast this morning. The Fish-

ermen caught five drum and a Turtle. Gave one drum to the Fishermen.

May 12th. The Fishermen did not go for shrimps last night, and therefore only caught today two drum fish.

May 14th. Gave Mr. Cannon sixteen dollars to pay for 4.000 shingles to complete the shingling his house, and advanced him fifty dollars in part of salary for the present year.

At the same time advanced Mr. Johnston sixty dollars in part of salary for the present year.

Caught no drum today, & gave up fishing for the season.

May 15th. Advanced Mr. Johnston fifteen dollars more.

May 16th. The Wild Horse came to the point to carry my daughters and self on board the steam boat.

. . . . . .

Decr. 13th. arrived with my daughter in the steamboat last night at 8 o'clock. We found our House People there who had arrived the Friday evening before in Capt. Bythwood's schooner.

Found at the Point from the old Place 8 fowls, 4 ducks, 2 turkeys, 1 dozen and 4 eggs, 1 basket of sweet potatoes.

Dec. 14th. Five Fowls were sent from the Crescent.

Dec. 15th. Teudey & Josey arrived last night. The Jersey waggon & Horses were at the Fording Islands. Bedford died on the road.

The Jersey waggon and Horses came over to the Island today.

The steam boat passed on its return to Charleston, wrote by it to Messrs Kershaw & Lewis.

Capt. Bythewood arrived off the Island. Sent him

23 Bales of Cotton, 12 from the Crescent and 11 from the Old Place. Ordered them to be shipped to Messrs Earle at Liverpool by the first opportunity.

. . . . . .

Drum fish caught in 1818: Drum fish, 219; Hard roes, 38.

. . . . . .

Crop made in 1817 at the Old Place.

Sent to Town, 11 Bales; Ginned, supposed, 4; Unginned, supposed, 5; Yellow, Supposed, 3; [total,] 23.

Yet Mr. Johnston says Mrs. Langley's negroes made 240 lb. while each of mine did not make half as much.

. . . . . .

Crop made in 1818.

Sent by Capt. Bythewood Dec. 15th. 1818.

Crescent	Old Place
White Cotton	White Cotton
12 bales	11 bales

Sent by Capt. Bythewood, Jan. 12, 1819.

18 Bales	11 Bales

3 WORK ON A LARGE TOBACCO AND WHEAT PLANTATION, VIRGINIA

Extracts for typical weeks in 1854 from the journal of the manager of Belmead Plantation, Powhaton County, Virginia, about twenty miles west of Richmond. MS. in the possession of Wm. M. Bridges, Richmond, Va.

At the time of the journal there were one hundred and twenty-seven slaves of all ages on Belmead, of which about one-half probably comprised the working force. There were twenty-one work horses and mules, sixteen work oxen, and a large supply of implements and farm machinery listed in the quarterly inventories of stock and equipment. The journal now extant covers the full year, 1854.

For the week commencing January 16, 1854.

Clear & warm wind S W	MONDAY. 4 four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds ploughed 6 acres one ox cart hauled wood two hauling Turnips one four

horse wagon hauled straw 2 hands Loading other hand puling Turnips and triming put the Big Boat in the River this evening.

Cloudy & Rain wind N E — TUESDAY. 4 four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds this morning untill 9 oclock stoped By Rain two ox carts and one four horse wagon hauled straw striped and prize Tobacco from 10 oclock untill Night with all hands.

Cloudy & damp wind N E — WEDNESDAY. 4 four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds ploughed 4 acres one ox cart hauling wood two ox carts and one four horse wagon hauling straw two hands loading other hands clearing of creek Banks

Cloudy & Rain wind N E — THURSDAY. 4 four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds untill 12 oclock stoped By Rain one ox cart hauling wood two ox carts and one four horse wagon hauling straw 2 hands loading teams other hands opening water furrows stuck 2 houses of Tobacco this evening.

Cloudy & Rain wind S W — FRIDAY. All hands In the Tobacco house striping and prizing Tobacco seven hands clean wheat this evening three ox carts hauled seventy Barrels of Flouar to the River the Road in Bad order.

Cloudy & Rain wind S W — SATURDAY. three ox carts hauled three loads of Flour to the River five loads of wheat to the Mill and a load of corn and hauled wood seven hands cleaning wheat other hands striping and prizing Tobacco.

Clear & cold wind N W — SUNDAY. Inspected quarters this Morning houses in good order.

For the week commencing April 10, 1854.

Clear & cool wind N W — MONDAY. six coalters and two harrows preparing corn land five hands sowed plaster one ox cart hauled plastor Jefferey Manuring plant Beds four hands Bulking Tobacco other hands choping ditch Banks Dick at the Mill.

Clear & cold wind N W	TUESDAY. six two horse coalters and two harrows preparing land for corn one ox cart hauled plastor five hands sewing four hands Bulking Tobacco Jefferey Manuring plant Beds other hands shelled seed corn.
Cloudy & cool wind S W	WEDNESDAY. three ox carts hauled Manure 23 loads three three horse harrows preparing corn land six one horse Ploughs and cultivators planting corn seven hands droping four hands prizeing Tobacco Jeffrey Manuring plants Beads other hands opening furrows.
Clear & warm wind S W	THURSDAY. three ox carts hauled Manure 24 loads three harrows preparing corn land three one horse ploughs and three cultivators planting corn six hands droping corn four prizeing Tobacco others dresing of corn land.
Cloudy & Rain wind N E	FRIDAY. three ox carts hauled Manure four hands prizeing Tobacco all other hands and teames Imployed planting corn in low grounds stoped By Rain this evening.
Cloudy & Rain wind N E	SATURDAY. all hands sheled corn prize Tobacco and prepare fences in the evening after it stoped raining.
	SUNDAY.

For the week commencing July 3, 1854.

Clear & hot wind S W	MONDAY. Commence cutting oats this Morning with eight cradels untill 9 oclock weded Tobacco the Balance of the day three hands Reparing wheat shocks three skimers ploughing Tobacco Three horse Rakes gleening wheat field.
Clear & hot wind S W	TUESDAY. Three skimers at work in Tobacco Three horse Rakes gleening wheat field all other hands weeding Tobacco weed 50 Thousand plants.
Clear & hot wind S W	WEDNESDAY. Three one horse Rakes gleening wheat field three skimers ploughing Tobacco Erasamus Shear Sheep other hands worked Tobacco fifty thousand hills.

showry this evening and warm wind S W — THURSDAY. Three one horse skimers at work in Tobacco all other hands Replanted Tobacco and cut oats stoped By Rain this evening.

Clear & hot wind S W — FRIDAY. all hands Replanted Tobacco untill 9 oclock cut oats and shock the Balance of the day.

Clear & hot wind S W — SATURDAY. Finish cutting oats this Morning and hill Tobacco seven ploughs ploughing Tobacco.

Clear & hot wind S W — SUNDAY. Inspected quarters this Morning houses and yards in good order Rain this Evening.

For the week commencing July 17, 1854.

hot and Rain this evening — MONDAY. three ox carts hauled wheat two four horse wagons hauled straw Daniel toped Tobacco all other hands and teames Imployed thrashing wheat thrashed two hundred Bushels stoped By Rain this Evening.

Clear & hot wind S W — TUESDAY. six one horse coalters working Tobacco Jeffery toping wheat shoks Blowed of By wind Daniel toping Tobacco other hands hilling Tobacco 20 thousand thrashed wheat this Evening 100 Bushels.

Clear & hot wind S W — WEDNESDAY. three ox carts and two four horse wagons hauled wheat all other hands Imployed at the Barn thrashing wheat thrashed three hundred Bushels.

Clear & hot wind S W — THURSDAY. Three ox carts and two four horse wagons hauled wheat Daniel toped Tobacco all other hands and teames thrashed wheat two hundred and fifty Bushels.

still shower this evening and hot wind S W — FRIDAY. three ox teames and two four horse wagons hauled wheat other hands and teames thrashed two hundred and fifty Bushels stoped By Rain at 4 oclock.

Clear & hot wind S W — SATURDAY. Three ox carts and two four horse wagons hauled wheat other hands and teames Imployed thrashing thrashed two hundred and fifty Bushels Daniel toped Tobacco.

SUNDAY. Inspected quarters this Morning houses and yards in good order.

For the week commencing Oct. 2, 1854.

Cloudy & warm wind S E — MONDAY. Nine two horse ploughs ploughing corn Land for wheat in Mill field ploughed 14 acres two hands fireing Tobacco one hand sewed guano other hands sheled corn 40 Barels three ox carts hauled 10 ton of guano from the River 3 hands weighed guano.

Cloudy & Rain wind S W — TUESDAY. Clean corn and grate guano this Morning with all hands untill eight oclock Rain untill that time fired Tobacco ploughed with Nine ploughs and suckered Tobacco the Balance of the day.

Clear & cool wind N W — WEDNESDAY. Commence sewing wheat in Mill field on corn land with 6 harrows and one laying off sewed 24 Bushels other hands suckered Tobacco and cut and housed twelve hundred sticks.

Clear & cool with frost this Morning wind N W — THURSDAY. six harrows and one coaltor Imployed sewing wheat on corn land in Mill field sewed 26 Bushels cut Tobacco with five of my hands and Alfred and his hands cut and house Eighteen hundred sticks.

Clear & cool wind N W — FRIDAY. Commence harrowing with six harrows in field No 2 and sewing with drill sewed 10 Bushels one hand sewed two thousand lbs guano other hands cut and huse Tobacco with Alfreds also.

Clear & cool wind S W — SATURDAY. sewed ten Bushels of wheat with the drill six harrows preparing fallow land in field No 2 other hands housed Tobacco and opening water furrows and spred Manure.

Clear & warm wind S W — SUNDAY. Inspected quarters this Morning houses and yards in good order.

For the week commencing December 11, 1854.

Clear & cool wind S W — MONDAY. Four four horse ploughs at worke in Low grounds three ox carts hauled

wood ten hands cutting and Mauling wood other hands cleaning ditch Banks.

Clear & cool wind N W — TUESDAY. Four ploughs at work in Low grounds three ox carts hauled Turnips Erasamus with Mr. Tucker at Beldale Reparing gaits all other hands gethering Turnips.

Clear & cool wind S W — WEDNESDAY. Four ploughs at worke in Low grounds twenty one hands and three ox carts gethering and hauling Turnips at Mount Pleasant.

Clear & cool wind S W — THURSDAY. Five four horse ploughs at worke In Low grounds ploughed five acres the Land Verry dry and hard Eighteen hands and three ox carts hauling Turnips at Mount Pleasants.

Clear & cool wind S W — FRIDAY. Five four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds Ben and Women clening water furrows three ox carts hauled wood four hands cutting and Mauling.

Cloudy & cool wind N E — SATURDAY. Five four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds Ben and Women open water furrows three ox carts hauled wood four hands cutting and Mauling wood.

SUNDAY.

For the week commencing December 18, 1854.

Cloudy & cool wind N E — MONDAY. Five four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds three ox carts hauled wood other hands Maid sheep shelter cut wood and open water furrows.

Cloudy & cold wind N E — TUESDAY. all hands Imployed killing Hogs untill twelve oclock five ploughs at worke this Evening.

Clear & cold wind N W — WEDNESDAY. Five four horse ploughs ploughing in Low grounds the land Verry dry and hard three hands cutting out hogs two cutting wood three ox carts hauling other hands open water furrows and grubing.

Clear & cold wind N W — THURSDAY. Five ploughs ploughing in Low grounds three ox carts hauled wood two

	hands cutting wood three hands cutting hogs other hands opening water furrows.
Clear & cold wind N W	FRIDAY. Ten hands cutting wood three ox carts and two four horse wagons hauling Ben and Women grubing the land two hard frozen to plough.
Cloudy & cold wind N E	SATURDAY. Eight hands cutting wood two wagons and one ox cart hauling wood two ox carts and one wagon hauled straw and shuks to Beldale farm Ben and women grubing.
Cloudy & Rain wind N E	SUNDAY. Inspected quarters this Morning houses and yards in good order.

4 ROUTINE OF WORK ON A GREAT SUGAR PLANTATION

Extracts of the record for typical months, in the years 1827, 1832, 1837, 1844, 1845, 1852, and 1853, from the *Plantation Diary of the late Mr. Valcour Aime, formerly proprietor of the plantation known as the St. James Sugar Refinery, situated in the Parish of St. James* (New Orleans, 1878.) The plantation was on the bank of the Mississippi river about sixty miles above New Orleans. The scale of operations rapidly increased. The number of slaves on the estate in any given year may be roughly estimated on the basis of one slave to each hogshead of sugar in the output. The printed diary was probably issued in a small edition and privately distributed.

1827, January. Weather rainy from the 1st to the 15th. February. Weather dry during the whole month; through planting cane on the 12th.

March. Rain on the 1st. fair on the 2d; most of the plant cane,[4] and also stubbles[4] of Creole[5] cane in new land mark the row.[6] White frost on the 19th, 28th, and 29th; through hoeing plant and stubble cane for the first time on the 30th; rain on the 30th.

[4] In the climate of Louisiana, two or possible in some cases three crops of sugar cane, in successive years, will grow from one planting. The first year's crop is called the plant cane; afterward the crop is said to grow from the *stubble*. – ED.

[5] Creole, Otahity and ribbon are varieties of sugar cane.– ED.

[6] When the green shoots appear in lines across the field, the cane is said to mark the row. – ED.

April. On the 1st, Otahity[5] plant cane mark the row; some ribbon[5] plant cane have suckered on the 9th; through hoeing stubbles on the 15th; planted corn on the 17th; light white frost on the 19th; weather favorable; rain on the 22d; heavy white frost on the 28th and 29th; rain on the 30th.

May. White frost on the 2d; cold enough for fire on the 7th; north wind on the 10th; weather quite warm on the 13th and 14th; a heavy rain on the latter day; Otahity stubbles mark the row only on the 24th. All other cane have already suckered; ridged up ribbon cane on the 25th.

June. A beneficial rain on the 1st, being the first rain since May the 14th; north wind from the 22d to the 23d; weather cool enough to close doors at night. Five hundred and sixty five cords of wood already made.

July. Weather dry; no rain since June 1st; rain on the 4th, after thirty-four days drought; rain on the 15th. Through chopping wood on the 28th weather rainy.

August. Begun hauling wood on the 3d; rain on the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th. Begun ditching on the 15th; rain again on the 18th and 19th; north wind on the 25th, and through hauling wood to sugar house.

September. Begun making hay on the 5th; weather quite warm; north wind on the 23d.

October. Through storing hay on the 2d; repaired public road on the 8th and 9th; north wind and white frost on the 10th; begun matlaying[7] cane – weather too dry; through matlaying on the 16th; violent wind on the 21st, which blew down all large cane; begun cutting

[7] When the blades were stripped and tops cut from the standing cane, the blades and tops (*cane trash*) lay in a mat upon the field. Hence the phrase to *matlay*, to strip the cane in preparation for cutting and grinding it. – ED.

cane for the mill; white frost on the 22d; begun grinding.

November. During this month, weather mild and dry; thin ice on the 30th.

December. On the 1st, the weather again so mild, that some cane sprouts are six inches long. Through grinding on the 15th. On the 27th, cane standing are still good for seed. Ice on the 28th. V. Aime's sugar crop in 1826 [misprint for 1827], two hundred and fifty-three hogsheads, sold from five and a half to six cents.

. . . . . .

1833, January. One hundred and twenty arpents [8] of cane planted. Resumed planting only on the 4th, the ground having been too wet. Rain on the 13th. Weather fair on the 19th. Begun plowing in plant cane on the 22d. Rain on the 27th and 28th.

February. Through spading old ditches on the 5th. Through plowing and scraping plant cane on the 9th and chopping wood. Begun making staves on the 13th. A light rain on the 14th; grading for a plantation railroad. Four hundred and fifty-one pounds of pork from a hog raised here. Rain on the 19th and 20th. At least 60 arpents of ribbon plant cane mark the row. Very heavy rain on the 23d, such as the one of the 16th May, 1823. Begun plowing in stubbles on the 26th. Rain on the 26th and 27th.

March. Four hundred and fifty cords of wood cut, and two hundred and fifty cords remaining of last year's wood. Rain on the 1st. Ice one-fourth of an inch thick on the 2d. Ice again on the 3d. Trifling rain on the 5th. Heavy rain during the night from the 5th to the 6th. Rain on the 7th. Begun plowing in plant cane on the

[8] The arpent is a French unit of land measure, prevalent in Louisiana. It is equivalent to about five-sixths of an acre. – Ed.

15th. Rain on the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th. All ribbon plant cane except forty arpents, very nearly mark the row. Otahity plant cane are coming up. Planted corn in new ground on the 23d. Heavy rain on the 23d. Through working plant cane for the first time on the 29th. Through hoeing stubbles on the 30th. Some stubbles of ribbon cane mark the row. White frost on the 30th.

April. Six hundred cords of wood made. Chopping wood on the first. Light rain on the 2d. Through plowing, in new land, on the 3d. All the ribbon plant cane mark the row on the 7th. Rain on the 11th. Replanting corn in missing places. Stubbles of ribbon cane mark the row, but are yet thin on the row, on the 12th. Rain on the 16th Otahity plant cane mark the row. Rain on the 19th. Through working plant cane for the third time on the 24th, and through working stubbles for the second time on the 27th. Rain on the 28th, 29th and 30th. Weeding corn, in new land, on the 30th. River has fallen eighteen inches.

May. Plowing and hoeing corn, in new land, on the 1st, 2d and 3d. Heavy rain on the 3d. Some ribbon cane have suckered beneath ground. Rain on the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th. Harrowing and hoeing plant cane. Through working plant cane for the fourth time on the 21st. Rain on the 22d. Size of cane, with leaves, on the 22d; ribbon plant cane measured from four feet to four and a half feet; stubbles of ribbon cane, four feet; Otahity plant cane, three and a half feet. Otahity stubbles hardly mark the row. Weeding corn, in new land, on the 23d and 24th. "CHOLERA HERE." Begun to ridge up plant cane on the 28th; twenty-six hands only in the field.

June. Only seven hands hoeing on the 2d; lost three

slaves of cholera; the disease is very violent. Rain on the 8th. Cholera on the decrease. Rain on the 9th. Sowed peas on the 10th and 11th. On the 15th, both ribbon and Otahity plant cane are of fine size. Cutting weeds and ridging up cane, in new land. Weeded a portion of the corn crop on the 21st. Ridging up cane on the 24th, with the plow, and with the hoe, on the 27th. Rain in front on the 27th. Through ridging up plant cane, with the plow, on the 29th.

July. On the 1st, some stubbles nearly screen the teams. Begun hauling wood on the 2d. Rain on the 8th. Thermometer 27° R., above zero, within doors, at 3 h. P.M. on the 9th. Planted second crop of Charaky corn on the 10th. Through working stubbles of ribbon cane on the 13th. Weather too dry; occasionally, a shower, but none of any consequence since June. Thermometer 24° above zero, on the 18th at 8h. P.M. Through hauling wood on the 22d (one thousand and eighty cords). Bending corn on the 23d. Very light rain on the 27th, 29th, 30 and 31st.

August. A heavy rain on the 4th. Rain on the 5th, 6th, and 7th. On the 8th, an Otahity plant cane measured four feet ten inches in joints. Rain on the 9th, 10th and 11th. One hundred and thirty-seven water melons gave forty-six gallons of juice, which, being evaporated, gave only three gallons of thick syrup. On the 15th, at 9 h. P.M., the thermometer 24° R. above zero, and thus stood during several evenings; the heat, however, was not so very great. Clearing ground on the 20th. Gathered five hundred and five barrels of corn, and hauled out lumber for the plantation railroad, on the 22d. Through hauling out lumber for the plantation railroad on the 31st.

September. Rain on the 1st. Continue to clear land.

Rain on the 4th and 5th, with very strong wind, which blew down much cane. Rain again on the 6th and 7th. Begun laying cross-ties of plantation railroad on the 11th; the work suspended on the 27th. Rain on the 27th and 28th. Matlayed Otahity stubbles, so as to plow the ground.

October. North wind on the 2d. Rain on the 5th and 6th. Laying cross-ties of plantation railroad on the 7th. North wind on the 7th. North wind on the 13th. Thermometer 10½° R. above zero. Light rain on the 15th. North wind on the 17th; begun cutting cane for the mill. Thermometer 5½° R. above zero, on the 18th, in the morning; and on the 19th, thermometer 5° R. above zero. Begun grinding on the 20th. Very cold north wind on the 21st; thermometer 2° R. above zero. Weather very cold for the season, on the 22d; thermometer, zero; the ice the thickness of one quarter of a dollar; several other planters assert that the ice was of the thickness of a dollar. Cane tops, generally, may still be matlayed, though some are frozen. Cloudy on the 25th and 26th. Cold north wind on the 28th. On the 29th, thermometer ½° R. below zero. Resumed grinding; only forty-two hogsheads of sugar made on the 30th.

November. Stopped grinding on the 1st, at midnight. Resumed grinding on the 4th, in the evening; one hundred hogsheads of sugar altogether made on the 8th. Rain on the 8th, 9th and 10th. Stopped grinding, with one hundred and twenty-two hogsheads of sugar made. Ice on the 15th. Thin ice on the 16th. Stopped grinding on the 17th, during the night, with one hundred and seventy-two hogsheads of sugar made. Weather cloudy on the 18th. Ice of the thickness of a dollar on the 19th; resumed grinding at midnight. Heavy

white frost on the 20th. Altogether two hundred hogsheads of sugar made on the 21st. Light, but very cold rain on the 24th. Ice one-quarter of an inch thick on the 25th. Thin ice, and exceedingly white frost on the 26th. Through grinding on the 30th, at 9 h. A.M.

December. Light rain before daybreak, on the 1st. Cane, in the neighborhood, so affected by ice, that they scarcely produce sugar, even of bad quality. Rain on the 3d, 4th and 5th. A little rain on the 6th and 7th. Begun planting cane on the 9th. Weather, fair. Ice on the 15th and 16th. Rain all day on the 20th; sixty arpents of cane planted. Ice on the 24th, 26th, and 27th. Rain on the 28th and 29th; ninety arpents of cane planted. Rain on the 30th. V. Aime's sugar crop, in 1833, two hundred and fifty-three hogsheads.

. . . . . .

1837, September. Drought still prevailing on the 1st. No rain has fallen in a portion of St. Charles Parish, since the 23d of July; cane there are very small. Weather threatening rain every day, and thus interferes with hay cutting. Plant cane here which measured four feet two inches on the 30th of July, measure seven feet three inches on the 8th of September, showing their growth to have been thirty-six inches in thirty-eight days. All the wood hauled out into back pasture, and one thousand cords cut for next year. Begun cutting hay on the 11th. The drought has been so great, that hauling in the swamps is easy. Rain sufficient only to wet hay on the 14th and 15th; stopped cutting hay. Gathering corn from the 16th to the 18th. Resumed hay cutting on the 19th. Rain on the 21st during night; rain on the 22d, and light rain on the 23d. Spading canal on the 22d and 23d. Gathering corn on the 25th. Cutting hay on the 26th, but rain again interfered in the

afternoon. Rain on the 27th. Chopping drift wood. Rain on the 28th. Cutting weeds on the 28th and 29th. On the 30th repaired main plantation road in the forenoon, and gathered sixteen cart loads of peas in pods in the afternoon.

October. Rain on the 1st, 2d, & 3d, and worked meantime on the public road. Light rain on the 4th and 5th. Matlayed cane on the 4th and 5th; these cane being even then too much sprouted, kept badly. Rain, with strong wind on the 6th, before day-break; wind blowing from the east until 9 h. P.M., when it shifted to the northeast, and from thence to the north, with terrible force at 11 h. P.M.; at 1 h. A.M., the wind slackended, and blew from the northwest, on the 7th. The wind blew down one hundred arpents of cane, but not so as to injure them much, for they yielded one and a half hogsheads to the arpent. Smaller cane are leaning, or are inclined. The rain, during the storm, overflooded the ground, and put two feet of water in some cane in lower line. Weather fair, and matlaying cane on the 8th. Northwest wind, and thermometer 10 R. above zero on the 9th. Cutting hay on the 9th, 10th and 11th. Weather cloudy on the 11th. Hauling wood to sugar house on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th. Through storing hay on the 14th, and gathered forty cart loads of cow peas in pods. Weather fine on the 15th; thermometer 11° R. above zero. Through breaking corn on the 18th, at midday, (4200 barrels), and begun picking corn of plantation hands, in the afternoon; their crop amounting to fifteen hundred barrels. Cutting coco grass on the 22d. Matlaying cane on the 23d. Rain on the 23d and 24th. Northwest wind on the 25th. Light white frost on the 26th; thermometer 3½° R. above zero. White frost on the 27th, and

thermometer 3° R. above zero. Thermometer 4° R. above zero, on the 28th and 29th, and through putting up set of kettles of Garcia's pattern. The 30th, given the day to the hands. Through matlaying cane on the 31st, at midday, and cutting cane for the mill in the afternoon.

November. Rain by intervals the whole day on the 3d. Begun grinding on the 3d, in the morning. Weather very fair on the 5th and 6th. Stopped for want of cane to the mill on the 6th, and matlayed the tops of fifty arpents of cane. Resumed grinding and using set of kettles of Garcia's pattern. In twenty-four hours, made in syrup, the equivalent of nine hogsheads of sugar, with only thirteen cords of wood. During the following twenty-four hours, the equivalent of nine hogsheads of sugar made in syrup, with eighteen and a half cords of wood, only three feet long, and cut the previous year. In the next twenty-four hours, the equivalent of eleven hogsheads of sugar was made in syrup, with twenty-two cords of wood, also three feet long, and cut the year before. A mould or form of sugar (filled) before being bored, contains one hundred and twenty-one pounds of matter, and thirty-six hours after having been bored, will disgorge sixteen pounds of molasses; and eighteen days after being bored, will give forty-one pounds of molasses with eighty pounds of dry sugar remaining in the mould; therefore, a mould of sugar contains eighty pounds of dry sugar and forty-one pounds of molasses. . .

December. . . Through grinding on the 22d, in the morning, having used nine hundred and forty cords of wood, cut three feet in length, to make five hundred and twenty thousand pounds of sugar, manufactured in forty-nine days. But besides four hundred and fifty

cords of wood, four feet in length, were consumed by the two engines; therefore, only about two and one-third cords of wood were consumed per hogshead.

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1844, October. On the 4th, all the hay hauled and stored. Weather unusually dry for the season. Through picking corn crop of hands (twenty-seven hundred barrels), on the 8th. Repairs on front levee completed on the 9th. On the 10th, 11th and 12th repaired roads. Cloudy on the 13th. Hauled to "English Park" 1500 loads of manure, in one month, with two carts; with four carts and four loaders, hauled to "English Park" one thousand loads of dirt in seven days. Begun matlaying on the 15th. Rain on the 17th, after fifty-eight days of drought, with only one light rain on the 27th of September, which did not prevent plantation work; rain on the 18th with wind, shaking or blowing down a part of canes in one hundred arpents; cold on the 19th; very fair and cold, possibly white frost, on the 20th. Through matlaying on the 20th. On the 21st, plantation hands say prayer in the newly built sugar house, and then give a ball. Begun cutting cane for the mill on the 23d. Weather warm and threatening; rain on the 26th. Begun grinding on the 27th, at 11½ A.M., and twenty-six hours afterwards there were twenty-three hogsheads of sugar made. The first twenty arpents gave only nine hogsheads, but the next thirteen arpents yielded twenty-three hogsheads of sugar. 28th, fair; 29th, thermometer 6° r. above zero; 30th, white frost, thermometer 4½° R. above zero.

November. On the 2d, the weather still fair, without cold. Stopped grinding on the 4th, at day-break, for want of cane; (sixty-six arpents of canes yielded one hundred and twenty hogsheads, notwithstanding loss of

juice in changing from one set of kettles to the other). During the first run of seven days and twenty hours, one hundred and thirty-two hogsheads of sugar were made, with only one hundred and ninety-five cords of wood three feet long, being one and a half cords to the hogshead. Weather cloudy and cool on the 4th. Resumed grinding on the 5th, in the morning, but stopped awhile to work on another set of kettles. (Two hundred and twenty-three hogsheads of sugar made altogether from one hundred and twenty-three arpents of canes). Rain on the 10th and 11th, and during all night on the 11th, with thunder; this rain is the heaviest of the whole year. Stopped grinding on the 11th, at 7 o'clock in the morning; coolers being all full, and sugar yet too warm to be potted. Resumed grinding in the evening. On the 13th, weather getting cold, but cloudy all day; on the 14th, thermometer 3° R. above zero; white frost, slightly touching potato vines and vegetables; warm and cloudy on the 17th, and rain during the whole night; cold, sprinkling rain on the 18th. Stopped grinding on the 18th, at midday, with three hundred and fifty-three hogsheads of sugar made. About one hundred and eighty arpents of canes gave three hundred and forty-five hogsheads of sugar; four hundred and ninety-one arpents canes yet to grind. Rain during night on the 20th, which lasted until the 21st, at midday. Resumed grinding on the 20th, in the morning, at 10 o'clock. On the 22d, weather cloudy in the morning, but fair in the evening. Roads are very bad. On the 23d, thermometer 5° R. above zero; light frost on the 24th; thermometer 5° R. above zero; cloudy on the 26th. Canes are quite green, like last year. Rain on the 27th until midday. Stopped grinding on the 28th, at 5 h. P.M., to clean boilers, having made on one set of kettles one

hundred and fifty-nine hogsheads in eight days and seven hours, being nineteen hogsheads per day. Rain during night on the 30th. Roads are almost impracticable.

December. Rain on the 1st and 3d; Heavy rain on the 6th. Stopped grinding, for twenty-four hours, on the 6th. North wind on the 7th; weather very fair on the 8th; white frost on the 9th; thermometer 1° R. above zero. Resumed grinding on the 10th, after having stopped eighteen hours on the 9th to repair roads. Six hundred and sixty-two hogsheads sugar already made. Some ice, in a kettle, did not entirely melt during the day; thermometer on the 10th, in the morning, zero of Reaumur, and in the evening 2° R. below zero. Stopped grinding to windrow fifty arpents of canes; this work is being done quite opportunely, for the first cold of 1½° R. below zero, never freezes but the top part of the cane. Through windrowing fifty arpents of canes on the 13th, at 10 h. A. M. A sprinkle on the 13th before day, but weather fair from 10 h. A. M.; northwest wind and white frost on the 14th; white frost on the 15th; the day cloudy; north wind on the 16th; on the 17th thermometer 1½° below zero. The canes are frozen to the ground. On the 18th, thermometer 2° R. above zero. Eight hundred hogsheads of sugar already made on the 18th, at 10 h. A. M. Two hundred and thirty arpents of canes more to grind. 19th, rain; 20th, fair in the evening. 21st, stopped grinding for want of canes to the mill. 22d, a sprinkle at 6 h. A. M., and afterwards a brisk north wind during the whole day. Four hands filling up barrels of molasses; barreled seven thousand one hundred and fifty gallons in one hour. 23d, thermometer 1° above zero; some ice in ditches. Repaired road. 24th, fair at 5 h. P. M. Nine

hundred hogsheads of sugar made. 26th, warm; but wind soon blows from the north; 27th, very fair; thermometer 3° R. above zero; 28th, thermometer 1° R. above zero; on the 30th and 31st weather warm.

1845, January. 1st, stopped grinding at 6 h. A.M. with one thousand and twenty-three hogsheads of sugar made in sixty-five days, less the time taken up to clean machinery, to repair roads and to windrow canes, etc.; the sugar house having been in operation only fifty-seven days; thus, during the whole period, eighteen hogsheads of sugar were daily made on one set of kettles at a time. the plant cane, though cut two joints below the adherent leaves, still measured six feet to the mill, and yielded one and a half hogsheads of fine sugar to the arpent, twenty days after the killing frost; in 1840, the same thing occurring twenty-two days after the freese. Resumed grinding on the 2d; through grinding on the 10th, making a crop of one thousand one hundred and fifty-two hogsheads of sugar. (Notwithstanding the drought of sixty-five days in the spring of 1844, and the later drought of fifty-eight days, from August 19th to October 17th, 1844, the canes yielded nearly two hogsheads to the arpent, on an average.) Six hundred and twenty arpents of canes having given one thousand one hundred and fifty-two hogsheads. On the 15th, begun to open furrows with fifteen plows. On the 15th and 16th, hauled dirt with four carts into "English Park." Rain on the 17th; on the 18th the heaviest rain since November 11th; cloudy on the 19th; fair on the 20th. Left for the island of Cuba on the 26th. Half a crop made on the island, owing to excessive drought of last year and to the hurricane of October 4th.

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1852, June. 1st and 2d, weeded peas. Worked cen-

trifugal machine, on the 2d and subsequent days, and obtained as follows: twelve thousand pounds of saccharine matter, the value or equivalent of one hundred moulds of sugar, passed through the centrifugals, gave four thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pounds of dry sugar, sold at six and one-quarter cents; the same quantity, if worked in moulds, would have given six thousand pounds of sugar, scrapings and points included; in open kettles, the result would have been seven thousand pounds sugar and five thousand pounds of molasses; thus the only advantage of centrifugals, is the rapidity with which sugar is made marketable. Worked the stubbles on the 3d, for the fifth time, and through plowing and harrowing them, on the 5th. Rain on the 6th, stopping hoe work in canes. Hoed peas on the 7th, until midday, and through hoeing stubbles, for the fifth time. (Two hundred and sixty-nine pounds of sugar, first produce (large grains) taken from the heater and worked in centrifugals, gave one hundred and fifteen pounds of sugar, worth six and one-quarter cents, and the same sugar worked in moulds, gave one hundred and thirty-four pounds of sugar, including points and scrapings; thus the moulds gave fifty per cent. of sugar, while the centrifugals gave only forty-three per cent.) . . .

July. 1st, chopping wood, also weeding peas and bending corn with gang of women. River so low on the 3d, that fifty feet from the wharf, water is only five feet deep. On the 5th, unloading coal boat of four thousand six hundred and twenty-nine barrels of coal; the distance from coal boat to coal pile on shore being one hundred and twenty feet; the work is slow; through discharging coal on the 9th. Weeding balance of peas on the 10th. Bending the standing corn on the 12th. 13th,

rained a little for a moment. Weeding stubbles of old land, the 12th, 14th, 15th and 16th. Pumping water from the river, every other day, into sugar house pond. A sugar cane from Mr. Urquhart's place, below the city, with twelve red joints, measuring five feet six inches; here, in 1840, a sample cane measured seven feet four inches, on the 31st of July. Rain on the 20th and 21st. Through hoeing stubbles, in old ground, on the 24th. A good rain on the 26th. Through cleaning ditches on the 28th. A stubble cane, in new land, measures six feet. Cutting weeds on the 29th, 30th, and 31st. Through boiling-water sugar on the 31st.

August. 2d, made a new plantation road. On the 3d, cut and carted away pissabed from the pastures. Cutting weeds in the corn crop of plantation hands on the 7th. Begun hauling wood to sugar house. Weather too dry; heavy shower on the 9th, in the woods, which stopped ox-carts; rain again on the 10th in the rear of plantation. 13th, resumed hauling wood. 17th, rain, which stops hauling; light rain on the 19th; 20th, a good rain. Cleaning main sugar house pond. 21st, a partial rain. A garfish caught in the river, weighing one hundred and forty-seven pounds. Through making powdered sugar. Cleaning one of the sugar house ponds on the 25th; wind north; the same weather as last year on the 30th of August; on the 26th, wind north again. weather too dry. 28th, one thousand cords of wood at the sugar house 28th and 30th, the gang of women breaking corn. 30th, rain, the heaviest since a long while. 31st, rain, but with no addition of water to canal, which is dug eigthy-six arpents back to the plantation. A rattle-snake killed, measuring six feet long.

September. 3d, ox-carts hauling wood from the forest. On the 6th, stock has to be watered at the river.

Through digging main canal; lengthening it seventeen arpents on the 8th. Gathering peas the 9th and 10th. Begun cutting hay on the 11th, with the gang of women. 12th, through hauling wood from forrest. North wind; thermometer 17° R. above zero, on the 12th; northwest wind on the 13th; thermometer 13° R. above zero. One hundred hands cutting hay. Thermometer 13½° R. on the 14th, and foggy until 7 h. P.M., with cloudy weather in the evening; 15th, cloudy. Gathering corn and hauling hay on the 15th, 16th, and 17th. Sixteen hands can store in thirty-six cart loads of hay from 11 h. A.M. until night; the carts are larger than in 1845; 17th, cloudy. 18th, hauled hay; some loads remaining in the field on account of rain; 19th, rain more or less, the whole day; 20th, rain; 21st, fair. 22d, making hay, though the weather is threatening. On the 23d, gathering corn crop of plantation hands. 25th resumed hay making. 27th, weather cloudy and cool; 28th, fair, thermometer 15° R. above zero. 29th, through making hay. 30th, gathering corn of plantation hands and hauling hay.

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1853, July. 2d, heavy rain in the morning; 3d, rain in the afternoon; 4th, heavy rain, at 2 h. A.M., until 8 h. A.M. Chopping wood. The gang of women cutting weeds. 5th, heavy rain; rain on the 6th, 7th, and 8th; 9th, heavy rain. Applied guano along side of nine rows of stubbles. 10th, weather fair; 11th, heavy rain; 12th, rain much in the morning; 13th, rain. 14th, cutting weeds in pastures, with the women, and the men chopping wood. A heavy shower at sunset; rain on the 15th and 16th; no rain on the 17th and 18th. All hands at the hoe in the cane, for the last time. A heavy rain, in rear of plantation, on the 19th. Through working cane

on the 20th. A light rain on that day. 21st, the men at work in the woods; the women at work in ditches and canal. Light rain on the 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th. Same kind of work going on. Heavy rain on the 25th and 26th; rain at 2 o'clock in the morning, of the 27th; water overflowing roads in the fields; the heaviest rain since a long while. All the laborers at work unloading coal boats and lake bricks, on the 28th. The men chopping in the woods, on the 29th; the women bending corn and repairing roads; cleaning ditches. A stubble cane found measuring six feet six inches. 29th, heavy rain; rain again on the 30th and 31st.

August. Heavy rains on the 1st and 2d. The women working to roads in the field. 3d, light rain; weather fair on the 4th and 5th. Hoeing canes with all the hands, on the 5th; hoeing stubbles on the 6th. Rain on the 7th in the afternoon; 8th, rain in rear of plantation. all the choppers in the woods, and women at work in canals. 9th, fair. The men still chopping wood, and the women working to roads. Heavy rain, with strong wind, on the 10th; fair on the 11th, 12th and 13th; heavy rain on the 14th, 15th, and 16th; fair on the 17th; on the 18th, rain in rear of plantation. 19th, the women employed discharging coal boat; the men working the roads for hauling wood. Still chopping on the 20th; the women unloading coal boat. Heavy rain on the 21st, in the afternoon; weather fair the 22d and 23d. Hauling wood on the 24th and 25th. The women cutting weeds in corn of plantation hands. On the 30th, gather corn, with the women. . .

5 COTTON ROUTINE

Extracts from the diary of Leven Covington, whose plantation lay in Adams County, Miss., within a day's wagon drive from Natchez, 1829-1830. MS. in the Mississippi State Department of History and Archives, Jackson. The diary extends from 1829 to 1834, omitting, however, each year the period from July to February.

Saturday, 28th March, 1829. Ploughs commenced in new ground by Mackeys & finished on the South side of the Bayou at night. Hoe hands finished rolling logs & burning brush, at an hour by sun, David putting new beam in a plough broke the other day.–

Sunday, 29th. Left home after breakfast rode to Jeff Montgomeries,–Digned at Mr. Kings – Commenced to rain at 2 o'clock. Showery the balance of the evening. Came home in a shower –

Monday, 30th. Rain all day. 3 men drawing the Well, some platting Shucks, & some Shelling Corn – Women Spinning – Altered Coult (Fiddler) to day –

Tuesday, 31st. Rained hard all night last night too weet to plough, all hands pulling stalks, till dinner then made sheep' pasture fence –Altered & marked 17 Calves & 26 Lambs to day –

Wednesday, 1st April, 1829. Six Ploughs in Poplar tree cut of No. 2 – Commenced planting cotton in Groces field after'breakfast. Covering with a harrow and a roler – Women and children cleaning up before the Ploughs in No. 2 Abraham & Moses hall [haul] rails in sheep pasture fence – David making another roler – Jack & Jerry finishing last Quarter – P. K. Montgomery staid with me to night on his way to Natchez –

Thursday, 2nd. Six Ploughs in long cut by the old road – Finished planting Groces field at an hour by Sun, & commenced in Sheep Pasture – Women cleaning up

before Ploughs in No. 2. Moses & Abram still halling for fence across sheep pasture – Jack & David making new invented Cleaver for opening lists for sowing cotton.

Friday, 3rd. Six Ploughs still in cut by the old road – Cleaver opening, & harrow covering Cotton seed in Sheep pasture – Women put up fence on the line by Mackeys down to the large hollow – Moses & Abraham finished halling for pasture fence – & halled two loads to horse lot at Barn.

Saturday, 4th. Finished planting Sheep pasture in Cotton at 10 o'clock A.M. – Stephen & Ben then commenced opening for corn in circle cut of No. 3 – Women planting after them, planted all the soked Corn & then finished putting up, & stakeing Horse pen – Ploughs still in cut by the old Road. Stopped at 4 P.M. by rain, and commenced Shelling corn – Dr. Walton sent for medicine for Sick Horse.

Sunday, 5th. To Salem meeting – Digned at Mackeys, and got home at sunset –

Monday, 6th. 7 Ploughs in long cut by old road till 10 o'clock – then commenced small cut by the Ditch in same field & nearly finished it at night – Women & three men finished fence on the line by Mackeys and mended the water gap – team halling rails as they ware put up on the fence –

Tuesday, 7th. 7 Ploughs finished cut by the ditch & long cut by the old Road (except a small part of each too wet to Plough) at 11 A.M. and commenced on the bottom cut of No. 2 – Women, & three men cleaning up before the ploughs, – Team halling rails to finish fence arround Deadn's.

Wednesday, 8th. Wind very high from the South & quite clowdy; rain commenced at breakfast, a very hard

shower & considerable wind from the West at half past 9 A.M. Stopped raining at 11 and cleared off beautifully at 12. Plough boys rolled logs in Potato patch and cotton ground of No. 1 and 2 & commenced in slip of new ground in No. 3 – Women finished Sheep pasture fence – William came up from Natchez for a horse for cousin Dick.

Thursday, 9th. The ground too wet to plough in No. 2. All hands pulling stalks in upper cut on the old road of No. 1 till breakfast, then started 3 Ploughs in same cut and 3 in No. 3 to finish small piece left by the pond. Finished that & then commenced ridging for Potatoes – Started Cleaver to open, and a harrow covering Cotton in the upper cuts of No. 2 – Two women sowing seed the balance pulling stalks, & making fence across wry patch –

Friday, 10th. Commenced planting corn in No. 3. Six Ploughs opening before the hoes – Stephen, Ben & Moses, opening & harrowing Cotton in long cut of No. 2 – Mare Fanny Foulded.

Saturday, 11th. Finished all of No. 3 that was dry enough replanted the middle, & small cut next the road of No. 4, & planted circle cut in the same – Ploughs finished opening that & the piece in Sheep Pasture at dinner & commenced listing for cotton again, in bottom cut of No. 2 – I met board of Road Commissioners in Natchez & got home at dark Cousin Dick returned from N. Orleans – Messrs. Farnsworth & Rucker here.

Sunday, 12. Mr. F. and myself attended Preaching at Christs Church – I digned at Col. Woods – & staid all night at Jas. Woods –

Monday, 13th. Came home from Mr. Woods, home to breakfast – Ploughs in bottom cut of No. 2 till breakfast, then commenced in the deadning by Mackeys,

North side of branch – Hoe hands planted corn in Sheep Pasture the second time (destroyed by the hogs) & then commenced to burn brush and hill the new potato patch – Commenced to rain at half past 2 & rained moderately till night, not hard enough to stop work – Sent Jim to Natchez for cotton seed –

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Friday, 1st. May, 1829. Ploughs in branch cut of No. 2 – Hoes finished old field part of No. 4 & commenced in circle cut by the Brick Kiln Left Mr. Shields' at 10 o'clock digned at Jeff Montgomeries attended Writing School & got home at night –

Saturday, 2nd. Ploughs finished branch cut of No. 2 at 4 P.M. & started in bottom cut of No. 1. Hoes replanted part of upper cut of No. 3 & Corn in Sheep pasture – Started 2 ploughs throwing off from cotton in Groces field – Mr. John Newman digned here today.

Sunday, 3rd. Preaching at Salem in the morning H. Dunbar & Rucker digned with me – Rode with Dunbar nearly to Fauvers on his way home & returned with Caleb Knight & home.

Monday, 4th. Rained commenced in the night with a great deal of thunder, & lightning, & continued till breakfast. Men shelling Corn – Women Spinning till dinner then finished pulling stalks in No. 1 and commenced to plant upper cut on old Road, in No. 1. Run the Mill till Dinner.

Tuesday, 5th. Rain commenced before breakfast & continued (at intervals) all day – Men shelling corn, cutting potatoe roots & thrashing Pease – Women Spinning – Grinding all day.

Wednesday, 6th. Ploughs finished bottom cut of No. 1 & nearly to old ditch, in new part of the same – commenced planting again in No. 1 after breakfast –

& commenced Scraping Cotton in Groces field – ground very wet – cotton grassy –

Thursday, 7th. Ploughs finished new part of No. 1 and commenced in bottom cut of No. 2 left on account of the water – Hoes still in Groces field, two ploughs throwing off before them – Planting middle cut of No. 1.

Friday, 8th. Ploughs in bottom cut of No. 2 – Hoes scrapeing cotton in Sheep pasture commenced after breakfast, finished scrapeing, & replanting Groces field at breakfast – Still planting middle cut of No. 1 – Jack & David halled timber for fence across Coles creek – Sprinkled of rain at 4 P.M. Cleared off by eight.

Saturday, 9th. Ploughs finished bottom cut of No. 2 & nearly finished small cut by the old Rice patch hoes finished scrapeing in Sheep pasture & planted small piece of new ground in No. 4 with corn – Two Ploughs throwing of from cotton in No. 2 – Cleaver & harrow planting corn in hollow back of Jerrys house – Jack & David placed and staked two logs across Coles creek for a fence – Baithed in the creek this evening.

Sunday, 10th. Caleb King & myself digned at Mr. Sam Dunbars – I staid all night at Mr. Turpins –Anna Mare foulded.

Monday, 11th. Ploughs finished No. 2 & commenced at 12 o'clock in cut below the Gin of No. 1 – Hoes finished circle part of long cut of No. 2 & commenced in Poplar tree cut – Planting of left side of road to Gin – Spent the day in the board of Road Commissioners, got to Washington at dark & staid all night.

Tuesday, 12th. Ploughs still in cut below the Gin – Hoes finished all the first planting in No. 2 at 5 P.M.– (Gulf Seed) & commenced replanting corn in No. 3 – Two ploughs commenced throwing off in new field at

Mackeys (Warren Seed) finished planting on the left of the road & commenced on the right after dinner, dropping seed given me by Mr. Hall – Came home to breakfast from Washington – Dr. Walton started for the purchase via Warren County.

Wednesday, 13th. Ploughs in Appletree cut of No. 1. Hoes finished replanting No. 3 & commenced Scrapeing New ground by Mackeys at 10 o'clock. Two ploughs throwing off before the hoes – Planting in branch cut of No. 2.

Thursday, 14th. Ploughs in appletree cut of No. 1. Hoes in new ground till 12 o'clock then stopped by the rain – Planted Potatoes by the Barn, in the evening – Started after dinner to Shields Wedding –

Friday, 15th. Ploughs finished Appletree cut at dinner & commenced in the Tasker field – Hoes in new ground till stopped by rain at 3 P.M.–All hands shelling Corn – Staid at P. Harrison's all night on my way from the wedding – Phillips finished pecking Mill-Creek rose over my fence without injuring it –

Saturday 16th. Ploughs finished small piece by the Fodder house in No. 1 at dinner, & returned to Tasker field – Hoe hands making fence between the upper field & Sheep pasture, Chopping briers, & setting up corn in Sheep pasture – Six men makeing upper fence across the creek – Ground till dinner – Rain commenced at 12 o'clock. Came home to breakfast from Harrisons – Planting in bottom No. 1.

Sunday, 17th. Rucker digned with me & started to Natchez after dinner – I rode to Mr. Halls saw his crop & returned at sunset in a shower of rain –

Monday, 18th. Ploughs in field across the Spring branch. Hoe hands fencing along the creek at the same place till dinner then moved the rails along the old

road, & commenced scraping in long cut of No. 2 (Sum Seed two rows above willow stump) about two hours by sun – Rain at 3 P.M. not enough to stop work – Finished planting bottom cut of No. 2 at 5 P.M. & commenced in new part of No. 1.

Tuesday, 19th. Ploughs still in upper field across spring branch – Hoes still scraping long cut of No. 2 till Dinner, then scraped part of upper cut by old Road of No. 1, considerable showers of rain at dinner – D. Chambers arrived at night.–

Wednesday, 20th. Ploughs finished upper field at dinner, started two in the orchard to plough for Pease & four in No. 4 – Hoes in New ground by Mackeys – Showery all the fore part of the day – On settlement with Chambers deducted from rent proceeds of Cotton $419.08 & half of Bagging & Cordage – Rode to Washington with Chambers after dinner – Edm'd & Clem arrived in the evening – Planting in Appletree cut of No. 1.–

Thursday, 21st. Ploughs as yesterday – Hoes finished Scraping & replanting deadning at dinner, & commenced sidleing ditch cut of No. 2 – Rain all day Showery – Thrashed Pease with Plough boys in the evening – Edm'd. & self started to Wedding at Isaac Dunbars at 5 P.M. & stopped by rain – Planting in cut below the Gin of No. 1.

Friday, 22nd. Ploughs in No. 4 throwing off from Corn. Hoes sidleing cotton in No. 2 – Rain at 3 P.M.– Edm'd and I went to Washington in the evening –

Saturday, 23rd. Ploughs finished No. 4 at night – Two throwing of in bottom cut of No. 2. Hoes started in the same at eleven A.M.– In Natchez all day attended board of Road Commissioners & staid in Washington all night – Finished planting Taskers F.

Sunday, 24th. Came home to Dinner. Rode with Edm'd to Hoggatts ford & returned by Halls – Judge Ellick came home with me & spent the night – A light shower of rain in the evening –

Monday, 25th. Six ploughs in No. 3 two throwing of before the hoes, finished first planting in bottom cut & started in bottom part of long cut at 5 P.M.– Started one plough moulding first scraper Cotton after dinner –

Tuesday, 26th. Two ploughs moulding in old Sheep pasture and two started after breakfast in upper cut of No. 2 – Five Ploughs in No. 3 – Hoes in long cut of No. 2, nearly finished (Sum Seed) Clem and Jack making Coal Kiln – Dr. Walton & I. Montgomery.

Wednesday, 27th. Six Ploughs in No. 3-4. Moulding Cotton – 2 finished Sheep pasture & commenced in Groces Field. Hoes finished a few rows in long cut Poplar Tree cut & ditch cut at 5 P.M. & commenced scraping Potatoes – Considerable Thunder this evening & a black clowd at the South, no rain –

Thursday, 28th. Stopped the Plough in No. 3 & started the hoes in the same at dinner – Two Ploughs breaking middles in Popular tree cut of No. 2 after dinner & two listing old Rice patch, two still moulding in Groces field – finished scraping potatoes at dinner – stopped by a shower of rain at 4 P.M.– Thrashed pease, Shelled corn & ground the balance of the day –

Friday, 29th. Finished moulding Gulf Seed cotton in No. 2, at breakfast & started to moulding in the deadning. Two still in Groces field – Hoes finished circle cut and part of upper cut of No. 3 at breakfast, & commenced at 2 O'Clock & continued till 5 – Thrashed Pease, laid up pasture fence below the Gin, & moved cotton Seed out of the Gin –

Saturday, 30th. All hands transplanting corn in No.

4 till breakfast, then started 4 Ploughs throwing off from corn in old Sheep pasture, finished that & broke up middles in cotton part of same – Hoes finished transplanting and commenced after the ploughs to scrape corn at 12 o'clock, finished and scraped small piece of cotton the second time & stopped an hour by sun – Considerable thunder & a sprinkle of Rain at half past 3 P.M.–

Sunday, 31st. To Union Chapple to hear Dr. Cooper preach and an Indian give his experience – Digned at Jeff Montgomeries to see Caleb King in the evening & home at night –

Monday, 1st. June, 1829 Three Ploughs throwing off from corn in No. 3 – Two finished Groces field & joined the others in the deadning – Hoes finished bottom cut & started in middle cut of No. 3. A very black cloud & considerable thunder from the East passed around with only a light sprinkle of rain at 5 P.M.

Tuesday, 2nd. Excessive rain last night – Three ploughs finished breaking middles in Sheep pasture & started in Groces field at an hour by sun two throwing off before the hoes in upper cut (along the old road) of No. 1 & finished at night – started two cultivators in long cut of No. 2.

Wednesday, 3rd. Three ploughs still in Groces field. Three throwing off before the hoes – Cultivators still in long cut of No. 2 – Hoes scraped middle cut, & new ground part of No. 1 to the end of large pond comeing to the old road – First scraped cotton quite grassy –

Thursday, 4th. Five ploughs in Groces field. Three throwing off in bottoms of No. 1 – One cultivator finished long cut & started in bottoms cut of No. 2 – Hoes finished new ground part of No. 1 at dinner, & right hand side of road to Quarter at night –

Friday, 5th. Ploughs finished Groces field at breakfast and started in the deadning – Hoes in branch cut of No. 2 finished and scraped a few rows on the left of the road to Quarter – T. Newman & self attended funeral of Miss King & returned to dinner.

Saturday, 6th. Five Ploughs in deadning. Two throwing off from Cotton in bottom cut of No. 2 – Hoes sidled Cotton on left of the road to Quarter & scraped to large pond in bottom cut of No. 2. Rain commenced at 2 o'clock with considerable wind, & continued showery till night.

Sunday, 7th. Rode to Washington with T. Newman & returned at night – Rain all the morning & until 2 P.M.

Monday, 8th. 5 Ploughs in Deadning. Two throwing off in bottom cut of No. 2 till dinner, then in middle cut of No. 3. Moses & Richard finished replanting the cut below the Gin & commenced moulding in long cut of No. 2 at 4 P.M.– Hoes finished bottom cut of No. 2, at 3 P.M., hoed over point of corn between the Bridges, & started in upper cut of No. 3. Mornings very cool, weather fair.

Tuesday, 9th. Ploughs finished deadning at Dinner & started in old field corn, four moulding cotton in No. 2. Hoes in middle cut of No. 3 – Started David to Natchez after dinner, and went to Washington at night.

Wednesday, 10th. Ploughs finished old field & started in Circle cut of No. 4 an hour by sun, four moulding in bottom cut of No. 2. Clem & Jack making & Sharpening cultivators – Loaded David & started out of Natchez at 10 O'clock – Came by Mr. Turpins & Uncle Sandays house an hour by sun –

Thursday, 11th. Five Ploughs in No. 4, four moulding cotton till dinner then started three to throwing off

in bottom cut of No. 1. Hoes scraped left side of road to Gin & started after the ploughing in No. 1.

Friday, 12th. Five Ploughs in middle cut of No. 4, four throwing off from cotton in the bottom, & Appletree cuts of No. 1 – Hoes scraped bottom & Appletree cuts except a few rows replanted in the first & a few short rows to finish in the latter – Weather very warm, considerable lightning at night. E.

Saturday, 13th. Four Ploughs in corn in old Sheep pasture five finished middle cut of No. 4 & started in the cut next the road – Hoes finished Appletree cut of No. 1 & hoed young corn in No. 4 – Rain at half past three P.M.– Stopped at half past 5. Rucker & myself rode over to see Caleb King, sick –

Sunday, 14th. Digned at Mr. Kings and attended the funeral of Major Montgomery at 1 o'clock. Two considerable showers of rain this evening & smart wind.

Monday, 15th. All the Ploughs breaking the middles in hollow back of Jerrys old house – Hoe hands thinned corn in old field and No. 4 till breakfast, then commenced second hoeing in Poplar tree cut of No. 2 – Ground very wet in the morning – cotton very fine; knee high & well branched & *formed* –Weather fine, a few clowds, but a hot sun all day.

Tuesday, 16th. All the Ploughs in Corn, five in No. 4 & three in old Sheep pasture – Hoes finished all the snodgrass seed in No. 2 at sunset, & started in Sheep pasture.

Wednesday, 17th. Ploughs finished corn in No. 4 & started in No. 3 at breakfast, those in the hills finished at dinner and commenced moulding cotton in No. 1 – Hoes finished cotton in Sheep pasture & a set of rows in groces field – considerable thunder & appearance of rain at night to the East, passed around with light sprinkle Rode from Washington after din.

Thursday, 18th. Five Ploughs in bottom cut of No. 3, four moulding in middle cut of No. 1 – Hoes finished groces field except a few short rows – Weather very fine –

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Thursday, 18th. February, 1830. Started one Plough in Wry lot at 12 o'clock – Seven men choping & malling rails for pasture – Women at the bottom of field No. 1 fencing – Cass & I started to Mr. Turpins after Dinner.

Friday, 19th. In Natchez all day – Plough in orchard 4 men choping on thicket at the upper part of field No. 2 – Women stakeing fence arround No. 1 – Jim halling rails on pasture fence – Rain & considerable wind commenced about 11 o'clock at night.

Saturday, 20th. Digned in Washington on the way home, from Natchez – Weather showery till 11 o'clock – Plough in the orchard Men at the press – Women pulling stalks on the left of Road to Gin –

Sunday, 21st. Digned at home – Rode to Mr. Halls in the evening to borrow a yoke of oxen, no body at home.

Monday, 22nd. Started 2 Ploughs in the orchard – four men malling, two at the Press, two clearing in upper part of field No. 2 – Team halling rails at the bottom of No. 2.

Tuesday 23rd. Ploughs finished orchard at Dinner & started in upper part of Corn field No. 1 Men as yesterday Women pulling stalks in Branch cut of No. 2 – Team brought a load of fodder from Mrs. Winstons – Rain all day.

Wednesday, 24th. Caleb King, Rucker & Alden &c passed in the rain to Smiths Wedding – Showery all day. Men at the press – Women piling brush in new ground.

Thursday, 25th. Caleb, Rucker & Alden took breakfast on their way from the wedding, & wated till eleven o'clock for the creek to fall – Men at the press till 3 P.M. then chopping in clearing – Women piling brush.

Friday 26. Four Men malling rails for Hog pasture, balance cleaning up in Deadning by Mackeys – Women puling stalks in long cut of No. 2 till Dinner, then in the mackey field till night – Started ploughs again in upper part of field No. 1 ground still quite wet –

Saturday, 27th. Men & women making fence from the mouth of Branch to the line of division on the creek. Doctor Walton digned & staid all night with us – Cass and I rode out after dinner, & met mother, and Mr. W. Winston, at Mr. Mecuens – Two ploughs still following upper part of No. 1.

Sunday, 28th. Ben & Dr. Walton left after breakfast Ben for Mr. Tuckers, Dr. W. to see a patient at Hoggatts Quarter. Mother & Mr. Winston started home after Dinner. Cass & I rode a part of the way & called at Mr. McCuens on our return – Cassandra had considerable fever when we got home – Took medicine & was quite sick all night –

March 1st, Monday. Started two more ploughs in field No. 1. Four men malling. Nick and the women fencing at the bottom of No. 1 till dinner, then chopping briers, and sprouts, at the bottom of the same field. Team halling coal till dinner, then halling rails in hog pasture. Thunder and lightning and excessive hard rain commenced at 9 P.M.

Tuesday, 2nd March. All hands pulling stalks in long cut of No. 2 till breakfast; – then started the ploughs in upper cut of No. 1, 4 men malling –Women cleaning up in the same field – Team halling rails arround hog pasture – Clowdy & Cool all day.

Thursday, 4th. Heavy rain all day. Commenced at 4 A.M. Wind S.E. Shelled, & ground allowance for next week. Assorted, & nubbed Corn for planting – Cleaned up corn crib – Clem & Jo in the shop making Ploughs –

Friday, 5th. All hands puling Stalks till 3 P.M. finished field No. 2, then roling logs & cleaning up in bottom part of No. 1. Weather clowdy, & misty about 1 o'clock – Ground very wet with yesterday & last night's rain –

Saturday, 6th. Men belting trees in new ground, in field No. 2 Women cutting briers in the same – All stopped at 4 P.M.– Cass & I started for Sandy Creek at 10 A.M. As soon as we left home Mr. & Mrs. Walton came.

Sunday, 7th. From Gen'l. Winstons after breakfast, digned at Mt. Wellcome & home in the evening – Jo Winston with us.

Monday, 8th. Five Ploughs in No. 1, finished upper, and commenced in bottom cut after dinner – Four men malling – Women making a ditch on the N side of same field – Team halling rails for pasture – weather clear, & fine – . . .

III. TYPES OF PLANTATION

1 VIRGINIA TIDE WATER

(a) Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), Feb. 5, 1767. Advertisement.

TO BE SOLD ON REASONABLE TERMS

Three thousand acres of land, in King William county, two thousand of which lies on the river Mattapony, about eight miles above West Point, and about four miles from Clairborne's ferry; there are two handsome seats on the said two thousand acres of land, the one on which the subscriber lives has a very fine large and genteel brick house, two story high, with four rooms above and four below, with a fireplace to each room, a large passage, four fine cellars, and cellar passage, the work, both brick and wood, as well done as any in this colony, all convenient out-houses, a well accustomed mill, a large apple orchard of Hughes's and white apples, about fifty or sixty acres of very good marsh, a large garden newly paled in, the situation and prospect very pleasant, and great plenty of fish and wild fowl. The other is also a fine and agreeable situation, with a good dwelling-house and out-houses, with peach and apple orchards. These lands are very good for tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, oats, &c. has several fine places for meadows, and is in general exceeding level and well timbered, and in very good order for cropping, with plenty of tobacco houses, barns, Negro quarters, &c. The other thousand acres of land lies on the same river (Mattapony) about two or three miles above West Point, is extremely level and well timbered,

and has belonging to it one hundred and fifty or sixty acres of very fine marsh, so firm, dry, and hard, that carriages of great burthen go on it, and is of the greatest advantage to stocks of cattle, hogs, &c. where numbers may be raised with little trouble and expense, and a ready market for them. This land, as well as the other, is exceeding good, and produces fine tobacco, corn, wheat, oats, &c. has several places for meadow, great plenty of fish and fowl, is in good order for cropping, and has tobacco houses, quarters, and other convenient houses. Any person inclinable to purchase may be shown these lands, and know the terms, by applying to

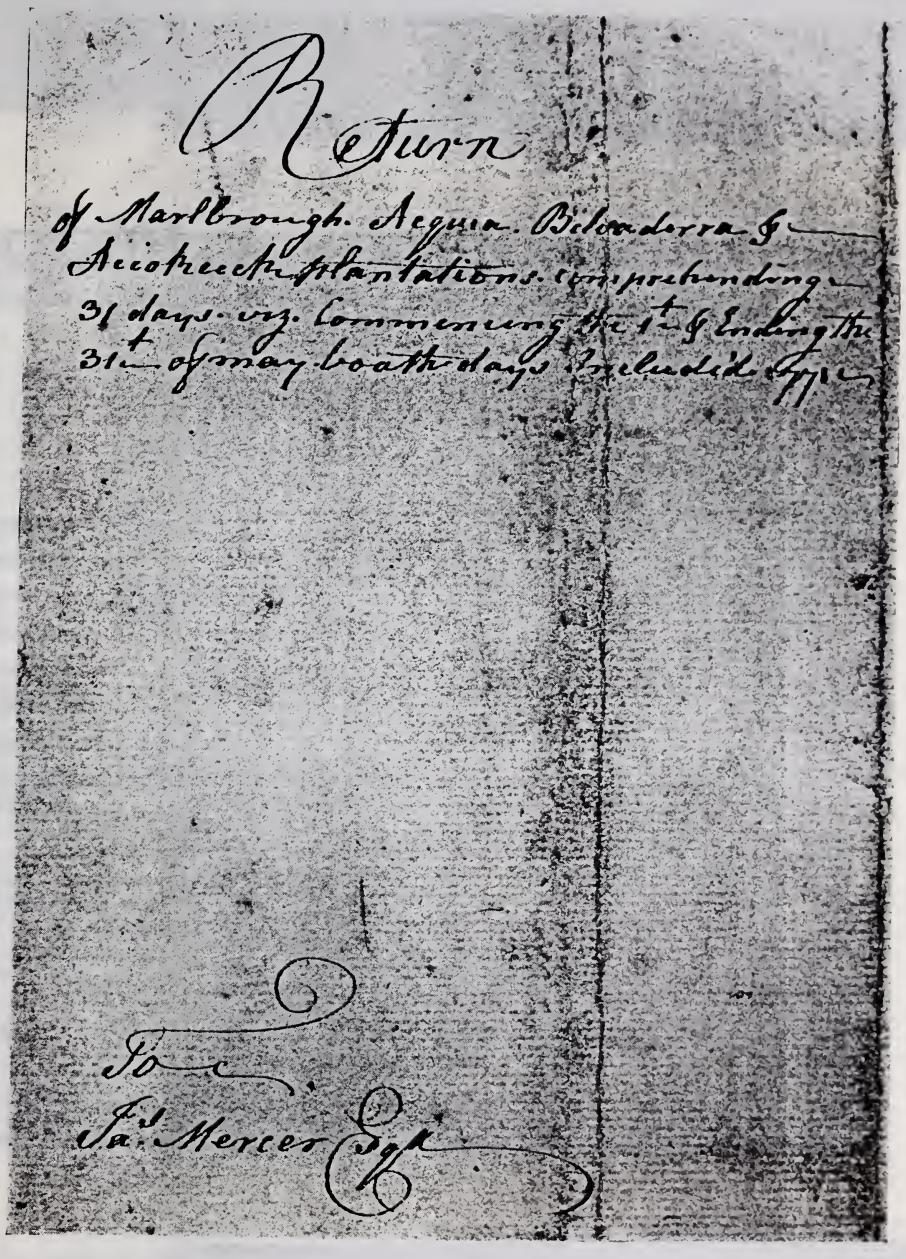
THOMAS MOORE.

N.B. Large stocks of cattle, hogs, &c. with several blooded mares and plow horses, may be bought with or without the land.– T. M.

(b) Virginia *Gazette*, October 6, 1774.

TO BE RENTED FROM YEAR TO YEAR, OR FOR A TERM OF YEARS

Belvoir, the beautiful Seat of the Honourable George William Fairfax, Esq; lying upon Potowmack River in Fairfax County, about fourteen Miles below Alexandria. The Mansion House is of Brick, two Stories high, with four convenient Rooms and a large Passage on the lower Floor, five Rooms and a Passage on the second, and a Servants Hall and Cellars below, convenient Offices, Stables, and Coach-House adjoining, as also a large and well furnished Garden, stored with a great Variety of valuable Fruits, in good Order. Appertaining to the Tract on which these Houses stand, and which contains near 2000 Acres (surrounded in a Manner by navigable Water) are several valuable Fisheries, and a good Deal of cleared Land in different Parts, which may be let altogether, or separately, as


Return
of Marlbrough. Aequia. Bloomsberra &
Accotreech Plantations. Comprehending
31 days. viz. Commencing the 1st & Ending the
31st of may. both days Included 1761
To
Jas. Mercer Esqr

2 PLANTATION EQUIPMENT—NORTHERN NECK OF VIRGINIA

Overseer's report on live-stock, buildings, equipment, and slaves belonging to James Mercer's four plantations. MS. in private possession

Return of M...

...whole Estates and its Contents as they appeared when this return was Sold up...
This return Compreh... ...ces of the Month Octobr. 82 as Explain'd in the NB. .....

| | Horses in the Mt. | Horses in the Carpenters | Horses in the Stables | Bridles | Saddles | Cart Harness | Ploughs | Carts | Waggons | Harrows | Scythes | Sickles | Grass Hooks | Axes | Hoes | Spades | Shovels | Mattocks | Pick Axes | Iron Bars | Iron Wedges | Iron Crows | Iron Rakes | Iron Forks | Iron Pots | Iron Kettles | Copper Kettles | Brass Kettles | Tin Kettles | Tin Pans | Tin Cans | Tin Funnels | Tin Pepper Boxes | Tin Sifters | Tin Lanthorns | Tin Candlesticks | Tin Dishes | Tin Plates | Tin Basons | Tin Cups | Tin Spoons | Tin Ladles | Tin Colanders | Tin Coffee Pots | Tin Tea Pots | Tin Milk Pots | Tin Quart Pots | Tin Pint Pots | Tin Half Pint Pots | Tin Gill Pots | Tin Half Gill Pots | Tin Patty Pans | Tin Dripping Pans | Tin Pudding Pans | Tin Cullenders | Tin Graters | Tin Boxes | Tin Canisters | Tin Coffee Mills | Tin Pepper Mills | Tin Mustard Mills | Tin Spice Mills | Tin Salt Cellars | Tin Salt Boxes | Tin Salt Shovels | Tin Tea Canisters | Tin Coffee Canisters 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Return of Marlborough Argusa Belvedera & Accobeech Plantations the negroes Cattle &c. belonging to Col. Lee and Contents as they appeared when this return was Filled up

This Return Comprehends the Whole time of 31 days Commencing the 1st day & Ending the 31st of May 1772 with the occurrences of the Month Weather &c as Explained in the N.B.

	Negroes in all	Negroes Capables	Negroes Incapables	Negroes Children	Negroes Grown Men	Negroes Grown Women	Negroes Boys Capable	Negroes Girls Capable	Negroes Boys Incapable	Negroes Girls Incapable	Negroes Sucking Children	Negroes Sucking Children	Horses	Mares	Colts	Cattle	Oxen	Cows	Heifers	Steers	Bulls	Calves	Sheep	Hogs	Goats	Asses	Remarks
Marlborough	56	32	24		11	8	4	4	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	13	2	3	1	2	1	4	10	13			
Argusa	22	13	9		4	3	2	2					2	1		6		2		1		3	6	5			
Belvedera	18	12	6		3	3	2	1					2	1		5		2		1		2	4	3			
Accobeech	18	12	6		3	3	2	1					2	1		5		2		1		2	4	3			
Sorrys of Stock Marlborough	12	8	4		2	2	1	1					2	1		3		1		1		1	2	2			
Deceased Stock	25	17	8		4	4	2	2					4	2		8		3		2		3	6	5			
Total Effective	109	72	37		17	13	8	7	1	1			12	5	1	32	2	12	1	6	1	13	28	26			

N.B. The Casualty in sheep are 11 sold to Mr. Lowery, 1 to Doct. Clemenson, 1 killed for the house Lady a little time after being castrated & (18) across the Colleno of diverse a Castle died Since dureing Lent the remainder of the stock in good Condition two mares Excepted the work of the Mill going on as well as Can be Expected till Mr. Dreise to Cotton Mill be done & Cloath until Fit for Service) what so ever Mill repairs of Capable of it. the foundation of the Malt houses & Kilns appearing. the Mason house wants dawb Lights in some of the windows & the Lath Negroes repairing the west & north Quarters as a Security to the walls on the South Side of the Piazza. Tobacco houses at Marlborough & Argusa must be inspected as soon as possible. The two tobacco houses at Belvedera are in Good order. Stables at Marlborough Plantation must also be inspected Carfor winter, we have Cleaned with no damage of Corn I speak of Horses it will be Expedient to have a Carpenter for the work wanted can not be accomplished for time seeing the Carpenter must Contribute of for harvest & Shingle Sides to be necessary. I will advertise the sale at Stafford Court and the two parish Churches to begin on the 22d of September. there is all the Cattle Sheep & Hogs on the Plantations The Tydes prepare at Each plantation. Gryders Mill at Marlborough totally Expended. Negro Sampson Marlboro Company Sick of the Complaint Negro Dolly a Sick of a Complaint of the Negro Sorrel a gun Company sick. plus Negro Phillis sick at Accobeech Company. Negro Lue Pemberton a boy of Small Pox. Negro Sue

Jno. Oliver

To

Col. Mercer Esqr

shall be found most convenient. The Terms may be known of Colonel Washington, who lives near the Premises, or of me in Berkley County.

FRANCIS WILLIS, Junior.

3 A RICE ESTATE ON THE NORTH CAROLINA COAST

Charleston *City Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1825. Advertisement.

Will be sold at Public Auction, at the Court House, in the town of Wilmington, N. C. on the first day of December next –

All that Plantation, lying in the county of Brunswick, State of North-Carolina, known by the name of Orton, late the residence of Gov. Benjamin Smith, containing 4975 acres, more or less. Of this tract between 400 and 500 acres is swamp land, of a strong and fertile soil, which, it is believed, will produce at least 1000 lbs. of Cotton, or 4 tierces of Rice, to the acre, and is more capable of being well drained than any on the river, the fall of the tide being at least 4½ feet. Orton is a valuable and beautiful Plantation, situate on the Cape-Fear river, about 16 miles below Wilmington, which affords a good market for all kinds of produce, and about 14 miles above Smithville, a place in high repute for its salubrity and pleasantness as a summer retreat. Included in the premises is a very superior and never failing Mill Stream, with an excellent Dam, wanting only flood gates – the Rice Machine, Mill and Gin having been recently destroyed by fire. The Pond may be used at all times as a reservoir of water to flow the low lands, thus rendering Orton one of the most valuable Rice Plantations in the country.

A liberal credit will be given, the particulars of which will be made known on the day of sale, or sooner, if application be made to the subscriber. The premises can

be viewed at any time, and possession will be delivered immediately after the sale.

W. ANDERSON, Cashier of the Bank of Cape Fear.

Wilmington, August 28, 1824.

4 A SEA-ISLAND COTTON ESTATE

Charleston *City Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1825. Advertisement.

For Sale: That Valuable Plantation called the Point Plantation upon Wondoo River, about 16 miles only from the city with a good landing at the House. This tract contains by a late survey 1120 acres, all well wooded – about 300 acres clear, and some of it under fence, of excellent cotton and provision land. This tract would be to an industrious purchaser very valuable. Upon the premises there is a good dwelling house of six rooms, a good kitchen, Overseer's house, cotton house, corn house, and fodder house, a new carriage house and stable, also a mule stable, and ox house, and dairy all in good order, also an excellent well of water in the yard, a good garden with a number of choice fruit trees – the terms will be accommodating to an approved purchaser, and possession given immediately.

Apply to OGIER & CARTER, Broad street.

N.B. There are negro houses to accommodate 50 or 60 negroes.

5 THE GEORGIA UPLANDS

Augusta (Georgia) *Chronicle*, July 12, 1800. Advertisement.

For Sale: Plantation. That well known plantation formerly owned and occupied by Major David Creswell, lying six miles below the town of Washington, and 44 miles above the city of Augusta – containing 1075 acres of land. It has on it a large two story dwelling house, kitchen, barns, stables a house for distillery

and cotton machine, with such advantages as render it a desirable object, for any one who wishes to go extensively into the farming or planting business. It has on it one of the finest peach orchards in the state, consisting of about five thousand bearing trees. Perhaps no place in the upper country is possessed of greater advantages, in point of health, society, goodness of soil and improvements.

Any person wishing to become a purchaser, may know the terms by applying to the proprietor at Augusta. BENJAMIN SIMS.

6 A RED RIVER ESTABLISHMENT

Red River Republican (Alexandria, La.), Jan. 6, 1849.

SUGAR LANDS AND NEGROES FOR SALE ON RED RIVER, ABOVE THE TOWN OF ALEXANDRIA

The proprietor of several thousand arpents of land, situated as above, (being in a body), is desirous to dispose of 45 acclimated negroes, together with any number of arpents of land not less than one thousand, which shall include all the cleared land, about 400 arpents, now in the culture of cotton and corn, with about 10 arpents of sugar cane for seed, and all the improvements, viz: A spacious frame Gin House, Grist Mill, &c. &c., a frame dwelling, Negro quarters, Corn Crib, Cistern House, Smoke House, Black Smith Shop, (and tools) Stables, Fodder House, Cotton Houses, and Sheds, and about fifty thousand Bricks. Also, 30 head of Horses and Mules; Wagons and plantation implements, a good stock of cattle and hogs, and a bountiful supply of corn and fodder.

Among the negroes there are two first rate house servants, a man and woman; one carpenter, one rough blacksmith, and a driver not to be surpassed by any in the

State. The balance will average with any set of hands for good working and faithful subjects.

The land is well situated, and admitted to be equal, if not superior, to any in the State.

The owner is determined to sell in consequence of ill health.

The terms can be made to suit a purchaser, who can command about ten thousand dollars in money, or good property situated in the city of New Orleans, will be received in part payment or for the whole.

In the event the property is not sold by the first of January next, the owner will go on to pitch a crop of Cotton, Corn and Cane, and the plantation will be still in market with the growing crop.

Possession can be given the first of January. For further particulars address A. D., Republican Office, Alexandria, La.

7 THE SHENANDOAH REGIME

(a) Extract from the diary of Lucian Minor, on a trip from Virginia to the Southwest, in 1823, *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxvi, 167.

24th November. 1823 . . . Most of my ride, yesterday and to-day, was through the great valley. The Dutch inhabiting it are said to have crept down gradually from their settlement, in Pennsylvania; and the land, though generally rich, being too far from market to offer seducing attraction to any but the children of sober industry, these plain and steady people had few competitors for the spots that best suited their interests and their peculiar taste. It is curious to see how uniformly they choose for the site of their dwellings the very lowest part of the valley: usually but a few feet above the creeping brook or the rushing torrent, to which their meadows serve as margin. Their habitations are surpassingly neat in outward appearance; the

greater part, even to the two-storied buildings, are of logs, chinked with stones, then crammed smoothly, and the mortar whitewashed. Such is the house where I now am. It is larger and more roomy than our house.

My landlord is a Mr. Havens (recommended to me by Dr. Johnson), a most ingenious and even scientific mechanic. He has shown me an improved loom, for which he has a patent; and a corn-shelling machine, which has circulated extensively in Virginia, able to shell one hundred ears in a minute. I am much taken with a very simple machine for paring apples, by which fifty may be pared in a minute. I could make one, methinks, with a little more skill in handling the needful tools. . .

(b) Winchester (Va.) *Gazette*, Jan. 9, 1799. Advertisement showing the equipment of a self-sufficing farmer.

The sub/criber de/igning to remove to the We/tern Country, gives this public notice, to all per/ons who have claims again/t him, or again/t the e/tate of Edward Hoge de/cea/ed, or again/t the Admini/tratrix thereof, to bring forward their accounts properly atte/ted, before the fir/t of March next en/uing, in order that they may be /ettled. He likewi/e reque/ts all tho/e who /tand indebted to him, to make payment by that time. He will al/o di/po/e of, at private /ale, his Stock, con/i/ting of Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Farming Uten/ils, Hou/ehold Furniture, two Stills with a complete /et of Tubs, two Looms, four Spinning Wheels, with /undry articles too tedious to mention. He will al/o lea/e the Plantation he now lives on, which may be divided into two parts. A /ober and /teady family, that would board one or two per/ons in part payment of the rent, would be preferred. For further particulars, apply to the sub/criber. WILLIAM MARQUES.

8 POOR HUSBANDRY IN EAST TENNESSEE

Extract from the diary of Lucian Minor, *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xxvi, 172. Item dated Knoxville, Dec. 1, 1823.

There is a good deal of very fertile land between the Boat-Yard and Knoxville, but the want of a ready vent for its produce (it can be no other radical cause) has generated a system of miserable husbandry, more wasteful and injudicious even than that prevalent in Old Virginia and 'that's a bold word.' For example, the tops are not cut from the corn. The blade fodder only is pulled, and that not always. A great deal of corn is yet ungathered in the fields, and as to cutting down the stalks it is never thought of. Nor is manuring for any field-crop ever, or more than by one farmer in a hundred, practised. . . The road abounds with houses of entertainment, that look neat and even genteel: most of them are said to be as comfortable as need be. The cheapness of their bills is wonderful. For supper, lodging, breakfast and just as much corn or oats and hay and fodder as our horses can destroy (usually half a bushel of grain and a rackful of long food), we are charged 5/3 apiece! To me, indeed, who am traveling on Tennessee money bought at twenty per cent discount, it is about sixty-nine cents! And this is my whole daily expense, except gratuities to hostlers.

9 A VAST SUGAR ESTATE

Russell, W. H. *My Diary North and South* (Boston, 1863), 103. Describing the estate of Mr. Burnside, opposite Donaldsonville, La., about eighty miles above New Orleans. This was one of the largest units of plantation industry on record.

. . . A quarter of an hour brought us to the levee on the other side. I ascended the bank, and across the road, directly in front appeared a carriage gateway and

wickets of wood, painted white, in a line of park palings of the same material, which extended up and down the road far as the eye could see, and guarded wide-spread fields of maize and sugar-cane. An avenue lined with trees, with branches close set, drooping and over arching, a walk paved with red brick, led to the house, the porch of which was visible at the extremity of the lawn, with clustering flowers, rose, jasmine, and creepers, clinging to the pillars supporting the veranda. The view from the belvedere on the roof was one of the most striking of its kind in the world.

If an English agriculturist could see six thousand acres of the finest land in one field, unbroken by hedges or boundary, and covered with the most magnificent crops of tasselling Indian corn and sprouting sugar-cane, as level as a billiard table, he would surely doubt his senses. But here is literally such a sight – six thousand acres, better tilled than the finest patch in all the Lothians, green as Meath pastures, which can be turned up for a hundred years to come without requiring manure, of depth practically unlimited, and yielding an average profit of what is sold off it of at least £20 an acre, at the old prices and usual yield of sugar. Rising up in the midst of the verdure are the white lines of the negro cottages and the plantation offices and sugar houses, which look like large public edifices in the distance. My host was not ostentatiously proud in telling me that, in the year 1857, he had purchased this estate for £300,000 and an adjacent property, of 8000 acres for £150,000, and that he had left Belfast in early youth, poor and unfriended, to seek his fortune, and indeed scarcely knowing what fortune meant in the New World. In fact, he had invested in these purchases the greater part, but not all, of the profits arising from the

business in New Orleans, which he inherited from his master; of which there still remained a solid nucleus in the shape of a great woollen magazine and country house. He is not yet fifty years of age, and his confidence in the great future of sugar induced him to embark this enormous fortune in an estate which the blockade has stricken with paralysis.

I cannot doubt, however, that he regrets he did not invest his money in a certain great estate in the North of Ireland, which he had nearly decided on buying; and had he done so, he would now be in the position to which his unaffected good sense, modesty, kindliness and benevolence, always adding the rental, entitle him. Six thousand acres on this one estate all covered with sugar-cane, and 16,000 [probably an error. 1600 would be near the normal] acres more of Indian corn, to feed the slaves;– these were great possessions, but not less than 18,000 acres still remained, covered with brake and forest and swamp, to be reclaimed and turned into gold.

IV. STAPLES

1 RICE

Allston, R. F. W.[9] *Essay on Sea Coast Crops* (Charleston, 1854). Printed also in DeBow's *Review*, vol. xvi, 589-615 (June, 1854).

Rice, for which we are indebted to the Island of Madagascar, was introduced into Carolina and America at once, towards the close of the seventeenth century. A few grains were sown in the garden of Landgrave Smith, the site of which is now entirely covered by houses and modern improvements in the City of Charleston. These few grains produced many ears, which being disseminated for seed, succeeded in adaptation to the climate; and the low country of South Carolina since, has become the centre of the rice-growing region. . .

We begin preparation for a new crop by (cleaning out the ditches every third year; the drains are cleaned out every year, (after plowing) plowing the land as soon after harvest as the fields can be gleaned, and the scattered rice left on the surface can be sprouted. The stubble is turned under by running a deep furrough, say eight inches.[10] This may be continued until the end of January. The sod should have the benefit of the entire winter frosts if possible, the influence of which disintegrates and prepares them duly for the leveling.

[9] The author was a planter on the South Carolina Coast.– ED.

[10] Both plowing and harrowing are performed ordinarily, by oxen,– two yoke being required if we go deeper than six to eight inches; and two yoke get on badly in the swamp. The Tuscany breed furnishes the best oxen for our climate. – ORIG.

In March, or when about preparing to plant, the harrows will be made to pass over the plowed ground. The hoe follows to cut up and break the remaining clods and level the surface. The more the soil is comminuted, and the surface brought to a common level the better. The trenchers then come in with hoes made for the purpose, and trace out with great accuracy the drills in which to sow the seed, fourteen, thirteen or twelve inches apart from center to center. They will average (some drawing stake-rows, and others filling up the pabbels) three quarters of an acre to the hand, in a day's work.

The field now in high tilth, and resembling somewhat a garden spot, is ready for the seed. The sowers, with great care, yet with wonderful facility and precision, string the seed in the drills, putting two and a half, or two and a quarter bushels to the acre. The labor of sowing depends so much upon the state of the weather, whether windy, or moist or otherwise, it is better not to require any given task. Generally each woman will accomplish two or three tasks [11] and do it well – it should never be done otherwise; for the seed cannot be recovered if too thick; nor if too thin, can the sowing be repeated without needless waste and increased irregularity.

The best hands are chosen to sow Rice. In fine April weather it is pleasing to behold the steady, graceful progress of a good sower. The sowing done, water is forthwith admitted, (two tides are better than one,) and the field remains covered until the sprout becomes green and begins to fork. The water must then be withdrawn,

[11] The task in the Rice Region of South Carolina is (150.2 feet), a half acre. This is the unit of land measurement among the negroes, and with practical planters. The acre, which is a rectangle (300 x 150 feet) made by two square half acres, contains 45,000 square feet. – ORIG.

else the plants will be forced to the surface by any slight agitation, and float away from their position.

In twenty days after, or thereabouts, the Rice is hoed and flowed deep, the water over-topping the plant for two or three days, in order to destroy the young grass just springing up among the plants, and also the insects that may have lodged upon the blades, or which may have been generated among the stumps or roots or stubble. At the end of two or three days, the water is slacked down to about half the height of the plant, now somewhat stretched. At this depth it is held until the plants grow strong enough to stand erect, and will admit the laborers to walk between the trenches and pull out the long grass which shows itself, and which will now yield to very slight effort. If any rushes appear they will now be plucked up by the roots, and borne out to the banks.

Two days after this weeding the long water will gradually be drawn off. A succeeding tide will be taken in, and let off immediately, in order to wash out the ditches. Two men, furnished each with a long handled rake of curved iron teeth, are put to rake from the ditches all the water growth which impedes the draining, placing it on the side of the bank. In eight days (the land by that time should be dry) the smaller hoes, (The hoe now used has been reduced, latterly, to four inches in breadth) are used, and the soil is stirred as deep as it can be with them. The plant just recovering from the effects of long water, and taking a dry growth, is putting forth new green blades and fresh roots, which, not long enough yet to be interfered with by the deep hoeing, very soon yield to the grateful influence of the air admitted, shoot vigorously into the loosened earth, and nourish a "good stalk."

In the course of fifteen or eighteen days, the field is hoed again and weeded. This last hoeing is also done with the small hoes, but very lightly to avoid disturbing the roots, which are now extended nearly midway between the trenches.

As the plant is now beginning to joint, the laborers will step about with care, for if one be broken at the joint, it cannot be restored. A day or two after this third hoeing, the water is put on again, as deep as the last long-flow, and is gradually increased in depth after the rice heads have fairly shot out.

This is called the lay-by flow. Up to the time of this flow, is about ninety days for Rice sown the first week in April. After this to the period of maturity is from sixty to ninety days, during which the water is often changed, and kept fresh, but is never entirely withdrawn, until the grain be ripe for the harvest. Meantime, should any grass have escaped the previous hoeings and weedings, it will show its crest before the Rice matures and be plucked up by the roots. All white rice will be stripped off by hand.

HARVEST. And now the grain is ripe for the sickle. The time for harvest is come. Gladsome, bounteous harvest! A season, it is true, of laborious exertion, but a season also of cheerful emulation, of rustic joyous festivity. The Rice is cut a day before you will say it is fully ripe. The water is drawn off over night. Soon after the rising of a bright autumn sun, the reapers are seen amid the thick hanging grain, shoulder high, mowing it down with the old fashioned sickle, dealing brisk and dexterous, but noiseless strokes. Before the dew is all gone, the Rice is laid prostrate, even and orderly across the porous stubble.

The next day, when quite dry of dew, it is tied up in

sheaves, and borne away to the threshing yard, where it is well stacked before the night dew falls heavy. – This last heavy, but gleeful labor completes the field culture of the Rice plant.

When the stack has undergone its curing heat, and become cool again, the Rice is threshed out by one of Emmons' Patent Machines and sent to the pounding mill to be cleaned. The mill performs ingeniously enough the finishing process, thus: By steam power the rough rice is taken out of the vessel which freights it, up to the attic of the building – thence through the sand screen to a pair of (five feet wide) heavy stones, which grind off the husk – thence into large wooden mortars, in which it is pounded by large iron-shod pestles, weighing 120 to 350 pounds, for the space of some two hours, more or less.

The Rice now pounded, is once more elevated into the attic, whence it descends through a rolling screen, to separate whole grains from the broken, and flour from both; and also through wind fans, to a vertical brushing screen, moving rapidly, which polishes the flinty grain, and delivers it fully prepared, into the barrel or tierce, which is to convey it to the market.

The barrel is made by coopers attached to the mill, each one dresses his stuff and makes three barrels a day. He is paid twenty five cents for each barrel made over his number. When the stuff is dressed previously, five barrels, and even more may be made. . .

The profits of a Rice plantation of good size and locality are about eight per cent. per annum, independent of the privileges and perquisites of the plantation residence. . .

Now, as to the labor, by means of which these crops are raised – these important results, both commercial

and national, are obtained, the produce of which pays for three-fourths of all imports into the country ($260.000.000). Our laborers are descendants of the African bondsmen given to our ancestors by the mother country at the same time that Indigo and Rice and Cotton were sent to them to cultivate. They are well fed and clothed, well sheltered and cared for in sickness and during the infirmities and helplessness of old age. They are for the most part healthy, and cheerful, and when well trained are very efficient laborers.

The negroes have provided for them all the necessaries of life in sufficient abundance. And they enjoy the privilege of procuring many comforts and indulgencies.

In every Christian neighborhood, the means are afforded of Missionary instruction in their duty to God and to man. On most well regulated plantations the young negroes are taught specially; and to all, the way of salvation is preached. In short, the educated master, is the negro's best friend upon earth. But it is not enough in all cases, that the preaching of the Gospel is provided for our Negroes; they must be induced to seek an interest in it – they must be won to obedience to the divine law – to love the truth. Obviously, the strongest inducement is example on our own part; next, a just, consistent systematic administration of domestic government. Nothing sooner attracts the confidence of the negro, and commands his respect, than the illustration, in a system of management of justice, tempered by kindness. But enough – let us do our present duty, kind Providence will smile upon our efforts.

In proportion as we shall have performed well our mission, so may we with trust and hope, bequeath our inheritence to posterity; and so may each of us, when pros-

trate under the hand of time, and hourly expecting the summons of the last messenger on earth, with humble confidence look up toward the bar of our common Judge.

2 INDIGO: ACCOUNT OF ITS INTRODUCTION AS A STAPLE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Narration by Mrs. Eliza Lucas Pinckney, in a letter to her son, dated 1785. MS. in the Charleston Library.

You wish me to inform you what I recollect of the introducing and culture of indigo in this country. You have heard me say I was very early fond of the vegetable world, my father was pleased with it and encouraged it, he told me the turn I had for those amusements might produce something of real public utility. If I could bring to perfection the plants of other countries which he would procure me: Accordingly when he went to the West Indies he sent me a variety of seeds, among them the Indigo. I was ignorant both of the proper season for sowing it, and the soil best adapted to it. To the best of my recollection I first try'd it in March 1741 or 1742. It was destroyed (I think by a frost). The next time in April and it was cut down by a worm: I persevered to a third planting and succeeded, and when I informed my father that it bore seed and the seed ripened, he sent a man from the Island of Monserat by the name of Cromwell who had been accustomed to making Indigo there, and gave him high wages. He made some brick vats on my father's plantation, on Wappo Creek and there made the first Indigo; it was very indifferent and he made a great mistery of it, said he regretted coming as he should ruin his own country by it, for my father had engaged him to let me see the whole process, I observed him as carefully as I could,

and informed Mr. Deveaux an old gentleman a neighbor of ours of the little knowledge I had gained and gave him notice when the Indigo was to be beat; he saw and afterward improved upon it, notwithstanding the churlishness of Cromwell, who wished to deceive him, and throw in so large a quantity of lime water as to spoil the color. In the War 1744 I marked, and my father made Mr. Pinckney a present of all the Indigo then upon the ground as the fruit of my industry.

The whole was saved for seed, and your father gave part of it away in small quantities to a great number of people that year, the rest he planted the next year at Ashipo for seed, which he sold as did some of the gentlemen to whom he had given it the year before; by this means there soon became plenty in the country. Your father gained all the information he could from the French prisoners brought in here, and used every other means of information of the people at large.

The next year Mr. Cattle sent me a present of a couple of large plants of the wild indigo which he had just discovered. Experiments were afterward made upon this sort which proved to be good indigo, but it did not produce so large a quantity as the cultivated sort.

3 THE INTRODUCTION OF SEA-ISLAND COTTON

The Athenian (Athens, Ga.), June 17, 1828. Letter from Thomas Spalding, reprinted from the Savannah *Georgian*.

To the Editors of the Georgian,

Gentlemen: There was some months past a notification in your paper (copied from the Charleston Courier) requesting a communication upon the subject of the introduction of cotton in Georgia and Carolina.

It has been intimated to me that possibly this notifi-

cation has originated in some one desirous of information, in order that it might enter into some more general work; and as I am at present perhaps the only person alive that recollects distinctly the introduction of the sea island cotton, I have addressed this letter to you.

It is known to many that cotton was cultivated for domestic purposes from Virginia to Georgia, long anterior to the Revolutionary War. Jefferson speaks of it in his Notes on Virginia. Bartram speaks of it in his travels as growing in Georgia. And I have understood that twenty-two acres were cultivated by Col. Delegall upon a small island near Savannah before the Revolution; but this was the green seed or short staple cotton. Two species of the same family then existed in this country. The real green seed, and a low cotton resembling it in blossom, both being of a pale yellow approaching to white; one with the seed covered with fuzz, the other with fuzz only upon the end of the seed.

To explore the first introduction of the short staple in this country would now in all human probability be impossible: but we may very well suppose it was by one of the southern Proprietary Governments; and possibly from Turkey, the trade of which country with England was then of much higher consideration than it has subsequently become.

Nor would it have escaped these proprietors, many of whom were enlightened men, that the climate of Asia Minor, where cotton grew abundantly, was analogous to the climate of the provinces south of Virginia.

Just about the commencement of the Revolutionary War, Sir Richard Awkright had invented the Spinning Jenny, and cotton ginning became a matter of deep interest in England. Cotton rose much in price, its various qualities attracted notice, and the world was

searched for the finer kinds. The Island of Bourbon was alone found to produce them, and yet the Bourbon cotton greatly resembled in its growth our green seed cotton; although it cannot be its parent plant, for all attempts to naturalize it in Georgia (which were many and repeated) have failed. It gave blossom, but was cut off by the frost in the fruit, nor would it ratoon or grow from the root in next year: in which too it resembles the green seed cotton of our country. This is all that I am able to say and perhaps all that is necessary to be said of the short staple cotton.

The Sea Island Cotton was introduced directly from the Bahama Islands into Georgia.

The Revolutionary War that closed in 1783 had been a war not less of feeling and of opinion than of interest and had torn asunder many of the relations of life, whether of blood or of friendship. England offered to the unhappy settlers of this country who had followed her standard a home but in two of her provinces. To the provincials of the north she offered Nova Scotia. To the provincials of the south she offered the Bahama Islands. Many of the former inhabitants of the Carolinas and of Georgia passed over from Florida to the Bahamas with their slaves, but what could they cultivate?

The rocky and arid lands of those Islands could not grow sugar-cane. Coffee would grow, but produced no fruit. There was one plant that would grow and that bore abundantly, it was Cotton. The seed, as I have been informed by respectable gentlemen from the Bahamas, was in the first instance produced from a small island in the West Indies, celebrated for its Cotton, called Anguilla. It was therefore long after its introduction into this country called Anguilla seed.

Cotton, as I have already stated, had taken a new value, by the introduction of the spinning jenny into England. The quality of the Bahama cotton was then considered among the best grown. New life and hope were imparted to a colony and a people with whom even hope itself had been almost extinct. This first success, as is natural to the human mind under whatsoever influence it may act, recalled the memory of the friends they had left behind them. The winter of '86 brought several parcels of cotton seed from the Bahamas to Georgia. Among them (in distinct remembrance upon my mind) was a parcel to the late Governor Tattnall of Georgia, from a near relation of his, then surveyor general of the Bahamas; and another parcel at the same time was transmitted by Col. Roger Kelsal, of Exuma (who was among the first if not the very first successful grower of cotton) to my father Mr. James Spalding, then residing on St. Simon's Island, Georgia, who had been connected in business with Col. Kelsal before the revolution. I have heard that Governor Tattnall, then a young man, gave the seed to Mr. Nichol Turnbull, lately deceased, who cultivated it from that period successfully.

I know my father planted his cotton in the spring of 1787 upon the banks of a small rice field on St. Simon's Island. The land was rich and warm; the cotton grew large and blossomed, but did not open its fruit. It however ratooned or grew from its roots the following year. The difficulty was now over. The cotton adapted itself to the climate and every successive year from 1781 saw the long staple cotton extending itself along the shores of Georgia, where an enlightened population engaged in the cultivation of indigo, readily adopted it.

All the varieties of the long staple, or at least the germ of those varieties, came from that seed.

Differences of soil developed them, and differences of local situations are developing them every day.

The same cotton seed planted on one field will give quite a black and naked seed; while the same seed planted upon another field, different in soil and situation, will be prone to run into large cotton, with long bolls or pods and with seed tufted at the ends with fuzz.

I should have great doubts if there is any real difference in these apparent varieties of the long staple cotton. But if there is, all who observe must know that plants when they have once intermingled their varieties, will require attention for a long series of years to disentangle them.

Subsequently to 1787, as the cultivation of the cotton extended and became profitable, every variety of the cotton that could be gleaned from the four quarters of the world have been tried, but none of them but one has resulted in anything useful.

Mr. James Hamilton, who formerly resided in Charleston and now resides in Philadelphia, was indefatigable in procuring seed which he transmitted to his friend Mr. Couper, of St. Simons.

Mr. Couper planted some acres of Bourbon cotton; it grew and blossomed, but did not ripen its fruit, and perished in the winter.

Mr. Hamilton sent a cotton plant from Siam, it grew large, was of a rich purple color, both in foliage and in blossom, but perished also without ripening its fruit.

The Nankin cotton was introduced at an early period, the same that Mr. Secretary Crawford introduced the seed of some years back. It was abundant in produce, the seed fuzzy and the wool of a dirty yellow color, which would not bring the price even of the other short staple cotton. But I knew it to produce three hundred

weight to the acre, on Jekyl Island, Georgia. The kidney seed cotton, that produces the seed all clustered together with a long strong staple extending from one side of the seeds (and which I believe to be the Brazilian or Pernambuco cotton) was tried and was the only new species on which there could have been any hesitancy; but this too was given up because not as valuable and not as productive.

I have given the names of gentlemen because I had no other means of establishing facts. I am respectfully yours, etc.,

Sapelo Island, April, 1828. THOMAS SPALDING.

4 SEA-ISLAND COTTON METHODS

(a) Allston, R. F. W. *Essay on Sea Coast Crops* (Charleston, 1854). Printed also in DeBow's *Review,* vol. xvi, 589-615 (June, 1854).

. . . The soil best adapted to the production of fine Cotton [i.e. sea-island cotton] is a light yellow sandy soil. It bears well the admixture of salt and marsh mud with the compost applied to it, and yields, if fairly dealt by, a fine, long and even staple.

The better practice is to prepare the land by listing in the remaining growth as soon as the last year's crop has been picked – even before the cotton has been cleaned for market. The alleys are then broken up with the plow. In the spring, the earth, well manured, is drawn up with the hoe, making a bed upon the autumn listing, and the seed is sown in dibbles, a peck to the acre or more, according to the strength of the soil, &c.[12] After the seeds germinate, the alleys are again broken up with the plow, and soon the process of thinning begins. With

[12] In order to ensure the production of fine Cotton, the seed must be carefully selected, and well attended to. Owen's Selection has, at present, a high reputation. Mr. Geo. C. Owens has given name to the seed, as Mr. Kinsey Burton did to his in 1826-30. – ORIG.

the three first hoeings, the plants are gradually thinned out to the stand of a single stalk, eighteen, twenty or twenty four inches, or more, from its neighbour. The ground must be kept clean throughout. The quantity or rate of planting, when the hoe is altogether used, does not exceed three acres to the hand; and the task is one-fourth of an acre. (105 x 105 feet). If the plow and the scraper be used together with the hoe, much more may be accomplished, the hoe drawing up to the plants the earth loosened by the plow, the task may be three-fourths of an acre. Where the plow is used freely, seven acres to the hand may be tended, as in Florida, and perhaps on Santee. But, on this scale, the manuring must be neglected, or only partially done. In Georgia, my informant who uses the plow and scraper, plants five acres to the hand, in order to keep his land in good heart by manuring. For the same reason a very successful planter on Edisto tends but five acres to the hand. He uses the plow freely, manures well, and makes a good interest.

The effects of the autumnal gales, so unavoidable, are sometimes disastrous to the ungathered and ripening crop.

Among the diseases to which Long Cotton is subject blight, rust and blue may arise from some defect in the soil, which doubtless, may be removed, or partially remedied, by proper dressing, at the proper season, together with thorough draining. For caterpillar and the bug there is no certain remedy but propitious seasons – unless, indeed, it is to be found in a judicious rotation of crops, exposed to winter frost. When about to be attacked, however, defend your plants by all the means within your reach. Destroy the enemy in embryo, as the energetic planter, last alluded to, has shown can be done.

PREPARATION FOR MARKET: It requires from fifty to sixty days to prepare a bale of fine Cotton for market.

1st. The seed-cotton must be sorted for the gin; i.e., the dead leaves, and everything extraneous is picked out, say sixty pounds to the hand.

2nd. It is then passed through the roller gin, which relieves it of the seed. The common foot gin or treadle, propelling two rollers, is the machine commonly used for separating the fibre from the seed, cleaning on an average twenty-five pounds a day. The McCarthy, or Florida Gin, with one roller, is now attracting much attention; and the planters are putting them up as fast as they can procure them. A gin costing one hundred dollars, propelled by a good horse or mule, or better still by steam, will clean from 150 lbs. to 200 lbs. a day.

3rd. The cotton is "moted" as it comes from the gin, namely; all particles of broken seed, and every speck which may have escaped detection in the "sorting" are carefully removed. Thirty pounds to the hand are moted after the foot gin, sixty pounds after the use of McCarthy's patent, or in such proportion.

4th. It is then packed by hand in the old fashioned round bales, containing each 320 lbs. to 400 lbs. of clean merchantable cotton.

The finest Cotton is exceedingly delicate in vegetation, and requires careful handling throughout. It can be produced therefore [only] in small quantities; and then, unless everything be propitious, it does not pay too well. The cost of producing a bag of ordinary Sea Island Cotton is about $75 (This has reference to Cottons produced by the hoe culture without the plow) – that of the finest twice as much.

Prices: In 1851, in Charleston Market, fine cottons were sold at 60¢ per lb., – a single bag commanded 70¢.

In 1852, fine cottons sold at 80¢ per lb., only a bale or two brought more (85¢).

Ordinary Sea Island Cottons commanded in Charleston,

In March 1851, 30 cents per lb.
" " 1852, 30 cents per lb.
" " 1853, 43 and 45 cents per lb.

The planters are few who make the finest Cottons, some eight or ten perhaps in Carolina, planting a small portion of their lands in the choicest seed, which has to be selected with great care from year to year.

These Cottons are taken by England and France, chiefly, through the ports of Liverpool and Havre. England receiving the larger proportion, re-exports a part of her supply to the Continent (Switzerland and elsewhere), where it is manufactured into exquisite laces and muslins. A few hundred bags of Sea Island Cotton are manufactured in the United States, chiefly in making spool cotton. A pound of Sea Island Cotton may be spun so fine as to produce a thread of incredible length. Yet Prof. Mitchell, of the Cincinnati Observatory, stated that no thread, of any kind, which he could procure, was equal in fineness, lightness and elasticity to that of the spider's web.

The cottons that will command from 45 to 68 cents per lb. made with the proper use of the plow, and cleaned by the improved machinery, yield a very handsome interest upon the capital invested, say not less than from ten to twelve per cent. Fourteen per cent was realized last year by more than one planter. . .

(b) Extract from Whitemarsh B. Seabrook's *Memoir on Cotton* (Charleston, 1844), 23, 24.

The method of cultivation was very various and without method, until about the year 1802, when it assumed

a regular form in this State and Georgia. Then the crop was worked four times – the latest hoeing being from the middle to the last of July. The hoeings now are more frequent, from five to seven being usually given, and are begun earlier and finished sooner. The point appears to be conceded that, when the plant puts out fruit freely, which may be expected early in July, out-door labor should cease, especially if the season be wet.

It has been already remarked, that the plough was practically unknown to the first growers of long-staple cotton. This is still true, although a half century has elapsed. The ridge-system; the levelness of the ground, requiring therefore numerous drains; the small quantity of land, from 3½ to 4 acres, cultivated to the hand,[13] which, from its lightness, is so easily and so much better attended with the hoe; and the impossibility of gathering the cotton as rapidly as the field may demand, if, with ploughs, the tillage embraced a larger number of acres, – all seem to render the aid of this great agricultural implement utterly useless in the culture of the crop. In the breaking up of the soil, however, and as an assistant in forming the ridge, the plough is universally employed, except on the Sea-Islands, where only by a few planters, is its value in the latter operation, fully acknowledged.

The task in listing was formerly half an acre; in ridging, three-eighths of an acre; and in hoeing half an acre. The present tasks are less, except in hoeing, which is the same.

[13] A larger quantity per hand could not probably be manured.– ORIG.

5 UPLAND COTTON METHODS

Turner, J. A. *The Cotton Planter's Manual* (New York, 1857), 15-20. Extracts from an "Essay on the Treatment and Cultivation of Cotton" by Jas. M. Chambers, read before the Southern Central Agricultural Association of Georgia.

In this age of improvement, with scrapers and cultivators, and all the endless variety of labor-saving ploughs, and amid the advocates of hard-culture and soft-culture, and high-ways and by-ways, for making the crop, "who shall resolve the doubt when all pretend to know?" and who shall decide, with such differences among doctors, who is right? and who can pretend to say what number of acres to a hand will constitute a crop with such varied modes of culture? I shall proceed upon the supposition that a plentiful supply of provisions are to be made on the farm, and then set down as a good cotton crop, ten acres to the hand. Under favorable circumstances a little more may be cultivated, and on some lands less. Upon this basis I proceed. As soon as the young cotton is up to a good stand, and the third and fourth leaves begin to appear, the operation may commence. In lands which are smooth and soft, I incline to the opinion, that the hoes should precede the ploughs, chopping into bunches, passing very rapidly on, and let a careful ploughman follow, on each side of the drill, throwing a little light dirt into the spaces made by the hoe, and a little also about the roots of the cotton, covering and leaving covered, all small grass which may have sprung up. This is, indeed, the merit claimed for the operation, and after the hoes have passed, the ploughs come on and effectually cover and destroy the coat of young grass then up. This is known to practical planters to be the crop of grass which escapes the hoe, and does mischief to the cotton. But

when the land is so rough as to endanger the covering of the cotton with the plough, the operation must be reversed, and the hoes follow the ploughs. As all that is now proposed to be done is a very rapid superficial working, reducing the crop to bunches, soon to pass over and return again for a more careful operation. This should be done as soon as possible, as will be indicated by the necessities of the case. The grass and the weeds must be kept down, and the stand of cotton reduced. At this first working, unless in lands already very soft, I should advise the siding to be close, and be done with some plough which would break and loosen the earth deep about the roots of the young plant. Others may theorize as they choose, but with a plant sending out a tap root, upon which it so much relies, and striking so deep into the earth, as that of cotton, I shall insist upon its accommodation, by providing a soft, deep, mellow bed, into which these roots may easily penetrate. In the second working the ploughs should in all cases go before the hoes, and in all lands at all tenacious or hard let the work be deep and close again, and the middles of the row also be well broken up at this time. Now the hoes have an important and delicate duty to perform. The cotton is to be reduced nearly to a stand, though it is now rather early to be fully reduced. It is perhaps best to leave two stalks where one is intended to grow. The young stalk is very tender, and easily injured by bruises and skins from rough and careless work, and it is much better to aid a little sometimes with the hand thinning, than to spoil a good stand by bruises with the hoe. The cut-worm and the louse are charged with many sins which ought to be put down to the account of the careless working at this critical stage of the crop. The distance to be given I have before stated, and in the

first operation of bunching this ought to be looked to, and the spaces regulated accordingly. At this second passing over, the hoes must return a little soft dirt to the foot of the stalk, leaving it clean and supported. If this work is well done, the weed will grow on, without any necessity for further attention for some twenty days or three weeks, when the plough should return again. At this time, some plough should be used next the cotton which will tumble the soft earth about the root, covering the small young grass which may have sprung up since the last working, but the ploughing should be less close, and shallower than at the former working. The hoes have much to do in the culture of this crop, and must be prepared to devote pretty much all of their time to it, constantly passing over, and perfecting that which cannot be done with the ploughs, by thinning out surplus stalks, cleaning away remaining bunches of grass, stirring about the roots of the plant, and if need be, adding a little earth to them. It is difficult in a treatise of this sort to say how often, and in what manner, this crop shall always be worked, when the character of the seasons, and the difference in the land, must have necessarily have so much to do in settling this question. The general rule must be, to keep the earth loose and well stirred; the early workings to be deep and close; and as the crop comes on and the fruit begins to appear, let these workings be less close, and shallower, keeping the soil soft and clean. It is of great importance to work this crop late, and it should not cease until the branches lock or the cotton begins to open. I do not consider that it is necessary to pile the earth in large quantities about the roots of the cotton, but think the tendency of all the workings should be to increase the quantity.

The selection of seed is an interest not to be disre-

garded. We have been humbugged a great deal by dealers and speculators in this article, yet we would greatly err to conclude that no improvement could be made. We should, however, save ourselves from this sort of imposition, and improve our own seed, by going into the field and picking each year, from some of the best formed and best bearing stalks, and thus keep up the improvement. Great benefits may often be derived by changes of seed in the same neighborhood, from differences of soil, and occasional changes from a distant and different climate may be made to great advantage.

The picking of cotton should commence just as soon as the hands can be at all profitably employed – say as soon as forty or fifty pounds to the hand can be gathered. It is of great importance, not only to the success of the work, but to the complexion and character of the staple, to keep well up with this work, so that as far as possible it may be saved without exposure to rain. The embarrassments to picking, when once behind, and a storm or heavy rain shall intervene, mingling it with the leaf, and tangling in the burr, are just as great, as to get behind it in the cultivation of the crop, when much additional labor will be required to accomplish the same object. . .

The packing should be in square bales; and, without reference to freight, or any of these mere incidental influences, I think the weight of the bale should be fixed at about four hundred, or four hundred and twenty-five pounds; to be in two breadths of wide bagging, pressed until the side seams are well closed, or a little lapped, and then secured with six good ropes, the heads neatly sewed in, so that when complete and turned out of the press, no cotton should be seen exposed. These packages should be nearly square, for the greater beauty of

the bales, but still more, for the greater convenience with which they may be handled and shipped, saving the necessity for tearing the bags, and giving a better guaranty that they will reach a distant market in good order.

The crop is now made and ready for market, and as I have gone through with the labor of making, I hope I may be pardoned for manifesting a little interest as to its disposal, and therefore venture to offer a little advice on that subject. Create no liens on this crop, or necessity for selling. Never spend the money which it is to produce until it is sold. You are then free to choose your own market, and time of selling; and as cotton is a controlling article, it will greatly regulate the value of all property to be purchased, except the redemption of an outstanding promise.

I might have said something about the topping of cotton, but all I could have done, would have been to put it down as a contingent operation and doubtful in its effects upon the crop, I might also have descanted largely in the enumeration and description of insects and diseases peculiar to cotton, suggested some remedy, and swelled my essay, by a flourish in the dark, upon topics about which little is known; but I have felt that it be most in accordance with my plan, and certainly most with my feelings, to candidly confess my inability, and include these all under the head of Providential contingencies, to which the crop is liable, and against which we may war and contend, but which will, after all, prove an overmatch for the energy, skill, or wisdom of man.

6 SUGAR METHODS IN JAMAICA

Lewis, M. G. *Journal of a West Indian Proprietor* (London, 1834), 86-89.

Jan. 11, 1815. I saw the whole process of sugar-making this morning. The ripe canes are brought in bundles to the mill, where the cleanest of the women are appointed, one to put them into the machines for grinding them, and another to draw them out after the juice has been extracted, when she throws them into an opening in the floor close to her; another band of negroes collects them below, when, under the name of trash, they are carried away to serve for fuel. The juice, which is itself at first of a pale ash colour, gushes out in great streams, quite white with foam, and passes through a wooden gutter into the boiling-house, where it is received into the siphon or "cock copper," where fire is applied to it, and it is slaked with lime, in order to make it granulate. The feculent part of it rises to the top, while the purer and more fluid flows through another gutter into the second copper. When but little but the impure scum on the surface remains to be drawn off, the first gutter communicating with the copper is stopped, and the grosser parts are obliged to find course through another gutter, which conveys them to the distillery, where being mixed with molasses, or treacle, they are manufactured into rum. From the second copper they are transmitted into the first, and thence into two others, and in these four latter basins the scum is removed with skimmers pierced with holes, till it becomes sufficiently free from impurities to be *skipped* off, that is, to be again ladled out of the coppers and spread into the coolers, where it is left to granulate. The sugar is then formed, and is removed into the *curing-house*, where it is put into hogsheads, and left to settle for a certain

time, during which those parts which are too poor and liquid to granulate, drip from the casks into vessels placed beneath them: these drippings are the molasses, which being carried into the distillery, and mixed with the coarser scum formerly mentioned, form the mixture from which the spirituous liquor of sugar is afterwards produced by fermentation: when but once distilled, it is called "low wine;" and it is not till after it has gone through a second distillation, that it acquires the name of rum. The "trash" used for fuel consists of the empty canes, that which is employed for fodder and for thatching is furnished by the superabundant cane-tops; after so many have been set apart as are required for planting. After these original plants have been cut, their roots throw up suckers, which in time become canes, and are called *ratoons*: they are far inferior in juice to the planted canes; but then, on the other hand, they require much less weeding, and spare the negroes the only laborious part of the business of sugar-making, the digging holes for the plants; therefore, although an acre of ratoons will produce but one hogshead of sugar, while an acre of plants will produce two, the superiority of the ratooned piece is very great, inasmuch as the saving of time and labour will enable the proprietor to cultivate five acres of ratoons in the same time with one of plants. Unluckily, after three crops, or five at the utmost, in general the ratoons are totally exhausted, and you are obliged to have recourse to fresh plants.

7 UNCERTAINTY OF RETURNS IN TOBACCO

Letter of Benedict Leonard Calvert, Annapolis, Md., Oct. 26, 1729, to Charles Lord Baltimore, published in the Maryland Historical Society's *Fund Publication*, no. 34, 70.

In Virginia and Maryland Tobacco is our Staple, is our All, and Indeed leaves no room for anything Else;

It requires the Attendance of all our hands, and Exacts their utmost labour, the whole year round; it requires us to abhor Communitys or townships, since a Planter cannot Carry on his Affairs, without Considerable Elbow room, within his plantation. When All is done, and our Tobacco sent home, it is perchance the most uncertain Commodity that Comes to Markett; and the management of it there is of such a nature and method, that it seems to be of all other, most lyable and Subject to frauds, in prejudice to the poor Planters. Tobacco Merchants, who deal in Consignments, get great Estates, run no risque, and Labour only with the pen; the Planter can scarce get a living, Runs all the risques attendant upon trade, both as to his negroes and Tobacco, and must work in variety of Labour. I write not this in malicious Envy to the Merchts, nor do I wish them less success in business; but I heartily wish the Planters Lay was better. When our Tobacco then is sold at home, whatever is the product of it returns not to us in Money, but is either converted into Apparell, Tools or other Conveniences of life, or Else remains there, as it were Dead to us; for where the Staple of a Countrey, upon forreign Sale, yields no returns of money, to Circulate in such a Country, the want of such Circulation must leave it almost Inanimate.

8 THE TYRANNY OF KING COTTON

(a) Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), Oct. 11, 1827. A traveller's impressions.

A Plague o' this Cotton

A traveller from Charleston to St. Louis on the Missouri, in a letter to a friend in the former city, thus describes the manner in which he was bored with the eternal sight and sound of this staple produce of the country:

When I took my last walk along the wharves in Charleston, and saw them piled up with mountains of Cotton, and all your stores, ships, steam and canal boats, crammed with and groaning under, the weight of Cotton, I returned to the Planters' Hotel, where I found the four daily papers, as well as the conversation of the boarders, teeming with Cotton! Cotton!! Cotton!!! Thinks I to myself 'I'll soon change this scene of cotton.' But, alas! How easily deceived is short-sighted man! Well, I got into my gig and wormed my way up through Queen, Meeting, King, and St. Philip's-streets, dodging from side to side, to steer clear of the cotton waggons, and came to the New Bridge Ferry.– Here I crossed over in the Horse-boat, with several empty cotton waggons, and found a number on the other side, loaded with cotton, going to town. From this I continued on, meeting with little else than cotton fields, cotton gins, cotton waggons – but 'the wide, the unbounded prospect lay before me!' I arrived in Augusta; and when I saw cotton waggons in Broad-street, I whistled! but said nothing!!! But this was not all; there was more than a dozen tow boats in the river, with more than a thousand bales of cotton on each; and several steam boats with still more. And you must know, that they have cotton warehouses there covering whole squares, all full of cotton; and some of the knowing ones told me, that there were then in the place from 40,000 to 50,000 bales. And Hamburg (as a negro said) was worser, according to its size; for it puzzled me to tell which was the largest, the piles of cotton or the houses. I now left Augusta; and overtook hordes of cotton planters from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, with large gangs of negroes, bound to Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; 'where the cotton

land is not worn out.' Besides these, I overtook a number of empty cotton waggons, returning home, and a great many loaded with cotton going to Augusta. Two of these waggons meeting one day, directly opposite me, the following dialogue took place between the drivers – 'What's cotton in Augusta?' says the one with a load.– 'Cotton!' says the other. The enquirer supposing himself not to be understood, repeats 'What's cotton in Augusta?' 'Its cotton,' says the other. 'I know that,' says the first, 'but what is it?' – 'Why,' says the other, 'I tell you its cotton! cotton is cotton! in Augusta, and every where else, that ever I heard of.' 'I know that as well as you,' says the first, 'but what does cotton bring in Augusta?' 'Why, it brings nothing there, but everybody brings cotton.' 'Look here,' says the first waggoner, with an oath, 'you had better leave the State; for I'll be d – – – d if you don't know too much for Georgia.'

I continued my journey passing cotton fields; till I arrived at Holt's Ferry, on the Oconee, where I saw three large pole boats loaded with bales of cotton, twelve tier in height. From thence I went to Milledgeville, where I found the prevailing topic of the place, 'what an infernal shame it was, that such a quantity of virgin cotton land should be suffered to remain in the possession of the infernal Creek Indians.' From Milledgeville, I went to Macon, which they say is surrounded with most excellent cotton land; but the town it is supposed, will grow much faster when it becomes the seat of Government, and has more banks. From thence, I moved on to the westward, crossing Flint River, and from thence to the Chattahoochie found cotton land speculators thicker than locusts in Egypt. But from Line Creek to Montgomery (14 miles) the land is nearly level; the fields of one plantation joining by

a fence those of another; and all extending back from the road farther than you can distinctly see; and the cotton pretty even, and about as high as the fences, and has the appearance (as Riley says of Zahara) of a complete horison of cotton. They have, almost all of them, over-planted; and had not more than one-half their cotton picked in; each plantation has a cotton gin. I next came to Montgomery, which I found over stocked with cotton, and no boats to take it away. From Montgomery I went to Blakely, and on my way, saw many cotton plantations, and met, and over-took, nearly one hundred cotton waggons, traveling over a road so bad, that a State Prisoner could hardly walk through it to make his escape. And although people say that Blakely is done over, there was not a little cotton in it. From there I crossed over to Mobile, in a small steam boat loaded up to the top of the smoke-pipe with cotton. This place is a receptacle monstrous for the article. Look which way you will you see it; and see it moving; keel boats, steam boats, ships, brigs, schooners, wharves, stores, and press-houses, all appeared to be full; and I believe that in the three days that I was there, boarding with about one hundred cotton factors, cotton merchants, and cotton planters, I must have heard the word cotton pronounced more than 3000 times.

From Mobile I went to New Orleans in a schooner, and she was stuffed full of cotton. I arrived at New Orleans on the 8th of February, on the night on which Miss Kelly was to make her first appearance there; and I went to the Theatre. I was directed to go up a certain street in the upper Faubourg and turn into the first conspicuous brick building, lighted up on the right. I did so; and lo and behold! I found myself in a steam cotton-press house, where they work, watch and watch

by candle-light, screwing cotton. After an examination, however, I went to the play: and after that was out, I enquired the way to a licensed Pharo Bank, and was told that I would find one at the Louisiana Coffee-house, just below the cotton-press, opposite to a cotton ware-house. I don't know how many hundred thousand bales of cotton there were in New Orleans; but I was there only six days, in which time there arrived upwards of 20,000 bales,—and when we dropped out into the stream in a steam-boat, to ascend the river, the levee for a mile up and down, opposite the shipping, where they were walking bales on end, looked as if it was alive. A Kentuckian who was on board, swore the cotton had rose upon the town: 'don't you see' says he, 'the bales marching up the levy.' Coming up the river, I saw many cotton plantations, and many boats at Baton Rouge, Bayou Sarah, and other intermediate places, loading with cotton. And in passing the mouth of Red River, we took on board five more passengers, who live near Natchitoches. They say that they cannot get boats enough in the river to bring the cotton down that is made there, that they make the best cotton they ever saw; that they have the best cotton lands of all the cotton countries; and that if they continue to settle up there as fast for the next five years, as they have for the last, they will be able to inundate the world with cotton!! At the mouth of Arkansas River, we took on board about fifty negroes and two overseers, who had made a very excellent crop of cotton in the Territory, but found it too unhealthy a place to remain, and were going back to North Alabama. From New Orleans to the mouth of Tennessee River, we passed about thirty steam-boats, and more than half of them laden with cotton; also about twenty flat boats a day, for ten days,

and about half of them were loaded with cotton. When we got up to the Muscle Shoals there was more cotton in waiting than would fill a dozen steam-boats. I went by land from Florence and Tuscumbia, to Huntsville. There is a vast deal of cotton made about the Shoals, in North Alabama; and they go all for quantity, and not for quality. Ginned cotton was selling there for about six cents; and most of the lesser planters have sold theirs, in the seed, at one and a half. After leaving Huntsville, I passed to Nashville; and on my way, saw an abundance of cotton and cotton fields. The Tennesseans think that no other State is of any account but their own; Kentuck, they say, would be, if it could grow cotton; but, as it is, it is good for nothing. They calculate on 40 or 50,000 bales of cotton going from Nashville this season; that is, if they can get boats to carry it all.

From Nashville, I descended the Cumberland river in a steam-boat, between two keelboats, the Cherokee and Tecumseh, (poor Indian names, that have rang from Nickajack to Michilimackinac! now doomed to bear the burthen of the whites!) all three piled up with cotton; and after getting below the Shoals, to Clarksville, they stopped and took in 30 bales more. I left this boat at Smithfield, at the mouth of Cumberland, where, there was another large steam boat loaded with cotton for New Orleans. After seeing, hearing, and dreaming of nothing but cotton for seventy days and seventy nights, I began to anticipate relief. For on the route I took, whether by night or by day or by stage or by steam boat, wake up when or where you would, you were sure to hear a dissertation on cotton. One night, in Mobile I was waked up about two o'clock, by two merchant's clerks, who slept in the same room, and were just going

to bed. They were talking of Lottery Tickets; and says one to the other, 'If you were to draw the 50,000 dollars Prize, what would you do with it?' 'Do with it?' says the other, 'why I would take 25,000 dollars of it and build a large fire proof brick store; and with the other 25,000 dollars I would fill it with cotton at 8½ cents, the present prices, and keep it till it rose to 17, and then I would sell.' But this is only one item of a thousand. On the 16th of March, there came along a steam boat from Louisville, bound to St. Louis, and I took my passage in her. She had not a bale of cotton on board, nor did I hear it named more than twice in 36 hours. We ran down the Ohio to its mouth, thence up the Mississippi, and I had a pretty tolerable night's sleep; though I dreamed of cotton. . .

(b) Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), June 21, 1827. Editorial.

We see in the Southern papers, propositions to exclude Northern manufacturers, and Western Pork, Beef, etc., and to manufacture and wear our own Cloth, and eat pork and beef, etc., of our own raising. The object to be obtained by these suggestions all must approve, whatever they may think of the spirit which urges their adoption at this particular moment. That we have cultivated cotton, cotton, cotton, and bought every thing else, has long enough been our opprobium. It is time we should be roused by some means or other to see, that such a course of conduct will inevitably terminate in our ultimate poverty and ruin. Let us manufacture, because it is our best policy. Let us go more on provision crops and less on cotton, because we have had every thing about us poor and impoverished long enough – This we can do without manifesting any ill-nature to any of the members of the same great family, all whose earnings go to swell the general prosperity and happi-

ness. Much of our chagrin and ill-nature on this subject may be justly, because truly, ascribed to a sense of shame, which we of the Southern States feel, that we have been so long behind our Northern neighbors in the production of every thing that substantially administers to the elegance or the comforts of life. It has been our own fault – not theirs. If we have followed a ruinous policy, and bought all the articles of subsistence instead of raising them, who is to blame? For what have we not looked to our Northern friends? From them we get not only our clothes, carriages, saddles, hats, shoes, flour, potatoes, but even our onions and horn buttons. The latter we wear on our under garments, as if ashamed to acknowledge that we owed the manufacture of such a trifling article to others. Let us change our policy, but without that spirit and those expressions which leave a festering sore in the hearts of those who should be brothers. Let our farmers make and wear their Homespun – raise in greater plenty corn and wheat, which will enable them to raise their own hogs, cattle and horses, and let those who have capital and enterprise, manufacture on a more extensive scale. There is nothing to prevent us from doing it. We have good land, unlimited water-powers, capital in plenty, and a patriotism which is running over in some places. If the Tariff drives us to this, we say, let the name be sacred in all future generations.

(c) Report from the Wateree Agricultural Society, in the South Carolina uplands, 1843, printed in Edmund Ruffin's *Report of the Agricultural Survey of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1843), Appendix, 40.

For many years, while our chief marketable product, cotton, bore a high price, many of us were in the habit of raising that almost exclusively, and depending upon supplies of bread and meat from abroad, which the cot-

ton crop had to pay for – as well as for the animal power necessary on the plantation; a most pernicious practice, which has impoverished the State by millions, and been the ruin of many planters. It is believed that stern necessity has forced the planter to abandon this system measurably. It is unusual for any one in this neighborhood to purchase either meat or bread; and we are rapidly becoming raisers of our own animal power on the plantations.

It is believed that we are as successful as any body of planters in the State, on the same character of lands, in the mode of our culture. Certainly we have pressed too far the old, and seemingly well established doctrine; to wear out the land by cropping without manure, and then open new lands. But this system is also giving way to the sober light of experience; which teaches, that one acre well manured and taken care of, will produce more in the average of years, than two acres even of fresh land, not manured.

(d) *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), June 13, 1843. Editorial.

Better Times – Our readers have, unquestionably, been tired of seeing statements of the abundance of money in the market, and at the same time experiencing unexampled pressure from the want of it – of interest reduced to the lowest point ever witnessed, and at the same time property worthless. We have read and heard that money, like water, would find its level, but for four years it has more resembled ice thrown into enormous masses, and fixed by the eternal frosts of the poles.

But we have the satisfaction of announcing the symptoms of a change to better times. The stream of money, so long stagnant, has moved, and, like other matter in motion, will not rest till checked by opposing causes. The stock market, which seems to have been systemat-

ically thrust down, has the honor of first offering sufficient inducements to the holders of money. They have gone into it largely, and the holders of these stocks who have been prostrate under the burthen for years, are relieved. This beginning of relief will soon be felt in other departments of business. Other property will feel the impulse, and the debtor class, who have disdained to take shelter under the bankrupt act, will begin to find purchasers for that property which they have held to such disadvantage. Hope! that anchor of the soul, torn loose, till morals have been crushed and honor but a name, will find again its place of rest. Times will be better. How soon and to what extent, we know not, but we are well assured the time will not be long. Overproduction in the cotton region may protract the day with us; but stupidity has its limits, and cotton which cannot be spun, will not be made. We may go on till the ware-houses of Europe are full, and our own seaports walled in with cotton; but there will be an end to this folly. Men will not labor for nothing. There is a point beyond which the consumption of cotton cannot go. It requires three hundred consumers for one producer of this article. – It will soon be seen lying unsold in the barns of our planters. They will then learn wisdom. They will cease to send to the ends of the earth for things as easily raised at home.

V. PLANTATION SUPPLIES AND FACTORAGE

1 A GEORGIA PLANTER BUYS NEGRO CLOTHES IN LONDON

Letter of James Habersham, Savannah, Ga., March 9, 1764, to William Knox, London. MS. copy in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. Printed in the Georgia Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. vi, 15-17.

Savannah in Georgia the 9th of March 1764 – D^r^ Sir: I dont write because I am indebted to you a letter, as I think the Ballance on that account is in my Favour – My last to you was dated the 20^th^ of Jan^ry^ pr Capt Quince from that Port, when I acquainted you with y^r^ concerns here, which remain in Statu quo, except that M^r^ Martin has paid me £70 in part of y^r^ last y^rs^ rent, and when I can spare y^r^ money and get Bills I will remit it to you – This will be handed to you by a worthy Lady, whose Company and Presence must make you, because she does every one that is favoured with it, happy, and in order to give you an opportunity of seeing her often, I will charge you with a Commission, in the Execution of which you will be under the agreeable necessity of consulting her, without being deemed an Intruder, and I hope I shall receive y^r^ thanks in y^r^ next for this Piece of Friendship – But Andrew, you must understand that the Governor, M^r^ Harris, and myself are desirous if it can conveniently be done, to cloth[e] our Negroes a little better than common, and we suppose we may do that, and save the trouble of getting their cloths made here, by having them made up in

London. You have two letters enclosed, which I have sent open for your Perusal which when you have read please to put a wafer on them, and cause them to be delivered – You will see that H & H wrote to M^r^ Nickleson & Co for a little Iron ware for the sole use of our respective Plantations, and also to M^r^ Harris for our Negroe Cloth[e]s; as we suppose He can supply us as well and as cheap as any other Person in London, but if not, you may engage where our Intentions will be best executed, and M^r^ Nickleson and Co will be answerable for them – If M^r^ Harris can do them, He will charge them to H & H, whereby we shall save a commission of . . . . pct, besides perhaps putting something in his way – We want 120 Mens Jackets and Breeches and 80 womens gowns or habits of which at least ½ for middle sized one fourth for the larger and the remaining fourth for the smaller sizes men & women – You know that 5 yds of Plains usually makes a mans jacket & Breeches or a womans gown, and the cost of the best bought here with making is about 10^s^ and for this sum I suppose they may be had in London of Cloth at least stronger and more durable and consequently warmer and more comfortable – You see we dont purpose saving or rather that is not our motive tho' the more saved the better, as the charges landed here will at least come at 10 or 12 pct M^r^ Gillivray has imported Sailor Pea Jackets and I believe Breeches made of the same Cloth for his Men and the former cost in London 7^s^ and the latter 3/6 but this cloth must be too heavy and clumsy for womens wear – However something of the kind may answer for men. If I remember, the West Country Barge Men have their Jackets made of a very strong, cheap cloth, I believe called Foul Weather and the Color being Drab or something like it I should think would suit our

dusty Barns, as well as their dusty flour sacks. Upon the whole there is no directing from this Distance – In London you may have anything the Nation may furnish, and we must leave the choice of the Cloth, both for the men and women to you and the worthy Bearer, whose Judgement in this matter, let me tell you I should prefer to yours, for tho' I have called you a planter, I am free to say, you are but a learner– . . . Perhaps you may do well to give a Pot of Porter extraordinary p^{r} suit to have them sewe'd strong. You will please also get them as soon as possible as they should be here in August or at the farthest in all September, when the Nights and mornings begin to be cold, and you know we have sometimes some very sharp days the beginning of October, when the Negroes unless fresh supplyed, are usually in rags. But I have said enough on this subject, and you will learn better what is passing here from the Bearer, than I can relate, which concludes me D^{r} Sir Y^{r} aff^{ate} Frd and Servant –

P.S. I had forgotten to mention that a young lady who will accompany this hopes to have a finger in the pye and expects at least to be consulted about the choice of the Buttons, which will not be disagreeable to you – If I receive no contrary orders, I shall endeavor to procure a bill, when the Silk is drawn for, for at least £260 to send you – I find M^{r} Beskuake bought M^{r} M^{c}Gillivray Cloth[e]s of Mr. Jesser who I think lives near Billings gate, and were charged as Under.

Mens Jackets. 7^{s}

Boys Ditto 5/

Mens Breeches 3/6

Boys Ditto 2/3 But I suppose were called Boys for lads from 15-17 which will agreeably do for some small men. Since writing the foregoing, I am told, what are

called Short Gowns or wrappers with petticoats are best for women, but in this the Bearer will direct you – I know not how much you will be indebted to us for making you so much wiser, than perhaps you wou'd otherwise ever have been, had not this incident fallen in y^r^ way –

2 AN INVOICE OF PLANTATION, HOUSEHOLD, AND PERSONAL SUPPLIES

Invoice of goods ordered of his London factors, July, 1767. MS. copy in Washington's handwriting in the Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, vol. xvii, 10-11.

Invoice of Goods to be sent by Robert Cary, Esqr. & Co. [London], for th^e^ uses of George Washington – Potomack River –Virginia – viz.

6 Strong and Secret padlocks – middle size.
1 Steel Slay – proper for weaving Sale Cloth No. 3.
1 pr. Weavers pickers.
1 pr. Ditto Shears.
4 pr. Clothiers Cards.
6 pr. Coarse Wool Do.
4 frying panns – viz – 2 large – 1 middle size – & 1 very small.
2 Iron Skillets – 1 to hold 2 Quarts – the other 3 Quarts
1 Hunting Horn
12 pr. Dog Couples
2 best knitting Needles sorted – not to be made of Brass.
6 pr. best Sheep Shears
2 best trap Cocks – common size.
4 best Carpenters broad Axes
4 Ditto Ditto Adzes.
6 Do. Do. Claw Hammers
6 Do. Do. large & Strg. Compasses
6 two feet Rules –
6 knots of Chalk line
1 Sett of Iron Scures for Cooking
1 Larding Pin for Do.
1 Glaziers best Diamond n. y. point Md.
6 M. common brass Nails
1 Sett. of pinking Irons
1 Tap borer
2 large Funnels
6 Quart Tinn Canns
1 small Coffee Pot of Black Tinn
2 Chocolate Do. of Do. 1 large & other Small.
1 Dozn. Tinn Sheets
200 Needles proper for Works & Stitch
100 fathom of Deep-Sea Line

6 cords of Drum Line.

70 Yds Russia Sheets. a 1/6. white

2 pc. Russia Drab. or Drill

200 Ells of Rolls a 4d.

1 piece of Buckram –

1 dozn. fine Cambk. Pockt. Handks. of the Chinese sorte at abt. 3/6.

2 best 8 4. flanders Bed Ticks with Boulsters & Pillows

2 large Mattrasses

6 lb. best Green Tea

3 lb. Do. Hyson Do.

3 lb. best flour of Mustard

25 lb. Jordan Almonds

10 loaves dble refind Sugar

10 Do. single – Do.

1 Jarr best new Raisons.

1 Do. Do. Do. Currn.

1-2 Gallon fine Sallid Oyl

4 Quart bottles of Capers

4 Do. Do. best french Olives

50 lb. best white Bisquet

3 dble Gloucester Cheeses – ab. 60 lb.

1 Cheshire Do. ab. 40

1 Groce best bottled Porter

2 best Launets in one case

6 Common Do. each in sepe.

25 lb. Antimony

10 lb. flour of Sulpher

2 Oz. Honey Water

3 Quarts Spirit of Turpentine

2 lb. best Jesuits Bark powdered

3 Oz. of Rhubarb Do. & put into a bottle

1 pint Spirit of Hartshorn

6 Oz. Do. of Lavender

6 Do. Do. Nitre

1 lb. Blistering Plaister

4 Oz. Tincture of Castor

8 Do. Balsam Capivi

1-4 Lb. Termerick

2 lb. french Indigo (or Spanish if better for dying)

6 lb. of Braziel for Do.

10 . worth of gold leaf

10 lb. finest green paint gd. in Oil

3 fine painters Brushes

3 dozn. pr. plaid Hose No. 3

3 dozn. pr. Do. Do. No. 4

2 best white Woolen Cirsingles

3 Cruppers for Mens Saddles

1 ps. best Sattin Ribbon for the Hair

1-4 lb Cloth coloured Sewg. Silk

2 oz. Black Do. Do.

2 lb. whited brown thread

4 Oz. 6d. Do. 4 Oz. 8d. Do.

4 Oz. 12d. Do. 4 Oz. 2/. Do.

3 Oz. bleu Coventry thread 1 Oz. very g.

6 pieces of Bobbin 6 Do. beggars Tap.

1-2 Groce Cottn. Laces 12 Do. Stay Taps.

3 Quire large Elephant Paper

6 dozn. Packs Harry Cards

1 handsome Pocket Book (pretty large)

The 7th. Volume of Museum Rusticum

6 pr. Womans fine Cotton Hose
6 pr. Do. Do. Thread Do.
6 pr. Mens large Spun Silk Do. 3 to be ribd. & not to exd. 5/ pr. pr.
6 pr. Do. Do. W thread Do.
2 pr. Stitchd. Topd. buck Gloves for a large hand (Mens)
1 pr. Stoutest Buck Breeches of Susanne Coleman . . .
4 Mens Custor Hatts – a 5/.
1 Do. best Beaver
12 groce best Corks
25 lb. best Battle powder
25 lb. Do. EF . – Ditto
150 lb. drop Shott. No. 2
150 lb. large Bristol blere
25 lb. very small Mould Shott
6 blew & white Stone Chamber Potts
3 pint stone Mugs
6 Qut. Do. Do. 3 Pottle Do. Do.
100 Squares best Window Glass 11 by 9
15 lb. Putty
20 lb. of the best kind of Turnep Seed
1-2 Bushel of Rape Seed –
1 dozn. Hair Sifters –
[The following] of Mr. Didsy. pr. Letter.
1 pr. dble. Campaign Boots
1 pr. Do. Do. Shoes
1 pr. strg. Calfskin Slippers
6 pr. Bla: Callima. pumps

20th. July 1767.

1 Great Coat &c. pr. Lettr. to Mr. Lawrence
[The following] to be bought of Mr. Shelbury.
1 Handsome Minioset Cap Propr. to wear with a Sacque & Coat by a Person abt. 35 yr. of Age – Not to be a fly Cap nor to exceed a Guinea
1 Do. propr. to wear with a Night Gown by Do. & to cost only 15/.
4 yds. fine Mint. Lace a 6/. for an Apn.
4 dble. Muslin Hand. n. borders a 4/.
1 Black Barcela. Handkerchf.
12 yds Fashe. trimg. for a White Silk
6 Skeleton wires
12 ps. fine french Tape
1 ps. fine Kenting a 50/.
2 ps. Hanover Lace a 3d.
8 yds. blew 3d. Ribbon
8 Do. Green 3d. Do. – 8 Do. Lay lock Do..
2 Trunks exactly of ye. following Dimns. One of them two feet 6 inchs. long – 1 foot wide – & 10 inchs. deep – The other to be two feet 6 Inches long – 18 inchs. wide – & of the same depth – Both to be made of Sealskin or Strong Leather, to have strg. Locks, be well secured with Straps, trap Plates, & Nails & G W marked in the middle – to have Oil Cloth Covers.–

Go. Washington.

3 FLOUR, CODFISH AND VEGETABLES FROM THE NORTH

Baton Rouge (La.) *Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1826. Clipping from a Natchez newspaper.

Apples and Irish potatoes are good things. We have had good things in Natchez for the last week – Cod fish and potatoes, with drawn butter and eggs; and apples raw, and apple-dumplings, and apple-pies, and baked apples, and roast potatoes, and potatoes boiled, and hash with potatoes in it, . . . besides fresh flour, and sundry other fresh articles, for which we are annually indebted to the father of rivers, and one of his elder boys; all these things have presented themselves to our delightful palates within the last few days. – It is unnecessary to say that the Mississippi has risen, and is still rising; and it will not influence Dame Fortune or her daughter Miss F. Whether we wish high or wish low. – Sufficient for the day are the good things thereof.

4 CAUSE OF THE HIGH RATES OF PLANTERS' SUPPLIES

"Diary of Edward Hooker 1805-1808" [South Carolina], in American Historical Association's *Report for 1896*, 859.

Saturday, Nov. 16th. . . Inquiring the reason why European goods are sold so much higher in this state than at the Northward, I was informed that the Merchants of Carolina are less punctual, and more frequently bankrupts – that the planters have money only once a year, viz. after selling their crops, – and of course the merchants trust a great deal. . .

5 DEARTH OF SHOPS INCONVENIENT

"Extracts from the Dairy of Col. Landon Carter," in William and Mary College *Quarterly*, vol. xiii, 47 and 158, and vol. xiv, 42-43 and 183.

March 24, 1770. I can borrow no candles at Beverley's &, if Thompson's purchase from Norfolk don't come up soon, we must be contented to sit in the dark, which I get by lending candles myself. Mr. Carter, of Corotoman, had two boxes containing better than 5 gross. Mr. Parker had some dozen, but these are gentlemen who only think of favors when they want them. . .

January 26, 1771. Yesterday sent Sam on foot to Rippon Hall, and so to Town to get subscription Papers printed for the establishing a Store to accommodate the planter with goods above 50 [per] cent than he has yet bought them at. . .

May 2, 1774. Billy Beale gone with my cart to fetch my goods from Lewis' at Monday's Point. In this affair Major Mottison, as they call him, has shewed himself just such another hypocritical fellow as his brother William; promising services, and even boasting of them, but so far from performing as even to do injuries in their stead. This monster was over solicitous to send these goods to my own Landing, tho' I only desired him to land where he pleased and let me know when. And instead of doing one thing that he promised, he has landed them as far as they could be landed from me without sending out of the ship's way, and never so much as sending me word when or where they were landed; and after five or six weeks I by accident have heard where they were, and I suppose they may have been Pillaged. Rascals indeed!

6 COMPLAINTS AGAINST FACTORS, FOREIGN AND LOCAL

(a) Letter of George Washington, August, 1770, to his London factors. MS. copy in George Washington's handwriting in the Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, vol. xvii, 48-49.

August 1770.

To – Robert Cary Esqr. & Co., Mercht. in London.

Gentn: This Letter accompanies my Invoices for Potomack and York Rivers as also Mr. & Miss. Custis's – Agreeable to the several Orders therein containd you will please to dispatch the Goods & by the first Ships bound to the respective Rivers – Those for Potomack will come I hope by a more careful hand than the last did as I neither receivd the Goods nor Letters by Captn. Saunderson till the middle of June nor coud ever discover in what Ship – by what Captn. – or to what part of the Country they came (the duplicate by Peterson giving no insight into any of these matters but left me in full belief that the Ship was lost as such a length of time had elapsd between the date of your Letter and the receipt of it) – In short I do not know to this hour how the Goods came to this River as it was by Accident I heard they were stored at Boyds hole about 60 Miles from this place and was obligd to send for them at my own expence which will often happen if they are sent into any other River than the one they are destind to, but why this shoud have been the case in the Instance before us I am at a loss to guess as there were two Ships Saild from London to Potomack after Johnstown did; and a little before or nearly the time of the date of your letter by Saunderson, to wit, Grig in the service of Molleson and Walker belonging to Debert's, Lee, & Sayre.

When I opened the Packages a piece of Duffield

chargd £4. 13s was found eaten to a honey comb (by Moth) – Whether this was the effect of long lying or carelessness of the Woolen Draper I shall not undertake to determine but certain it is, that I shall not be able to get a single Garment out of the whole piece – By Merchants more accustomd to ye importation of Goods than I am, I have been told that it must have been packd up in the order I receivd it, as there is no such thing as Moths eating in a close Parcel – If this really was the case, it is a species of Dealing which does not reflect much honr. upon the reputation of Messr. Mauduit Wright & Co.

By Captn. Peterson I have Shipd you 32 hhds. of Mr. Custis's Tobo. and all mine consisting of 17 more, the Sales of which I hope and flatter myself will be equal to other Tobacco's made in the same Neighbourhood; but which give me leave to add, has not been the case hitherto notwithstanding you seem to think that I cannot be otherwise than pleased with the last Acct. you rendered.

That 11 1-2d. a lb. is such a price as a Planter (in a tolerable good year) may afford to make Tobacco for, I shall not deny; but it does not follow as a consequence that I should be satisfied therewith in behalf of myself & Ward when a Succession of short Crops have given a Universal start to Tobo. and when I know (if the veracity of some Gentlemen with whom I conversed at Williamsburg when I was down there last is to be credited) that other Crops made in York & James City Counties not six miles from Mr. Custis's Plantation & mine have sold at 12d. & 12 1-2 p. lb; and the common transfer Tobo. a large proportion of which we pay towards the support of a Minister in York County, when prizd and Shipd to London fetchd 12d so, and what reason can be

assignd then for my being pleasd with 11d & 11 1-2 (averaging about £12 a hhd.) when the commonest Arronoko Tobo. fetchd this in evry Port in Great Britain I know not; as it is by someone presumable, that the Tobacco which Mr. Valentine now makes, & Stems a fourth or a third of in order to make it good, shoud be of Inferior quality to the general run of purchasd Tobaco., or worse than that which he himself has applied to the payment of the Minister's Salery; to do which, and to answer all other Publick Claims it is well known that the most indifferent of our (Inspected) Tobo. is always appropriated – Upon the whole, the repeated disappointments which I meat with has reduced me to a delemma which I am not very well reconcild to – To decline a Correspondance either altogether or in part which has subsisted for so many years is by no means my Inclination; and to persevere in a Consignment which seems to lend to the prejudice of myself and Ward, not only in the Sales of our Tobacco, but the purchase of Goods, is hardly to be expected.

That my Goods are for the most part exceedingly dear bought and the directions which are given for the choice of Particular Articles not always attended to, I have no scruples in declaring – The first is no otherwise to be proved than by a comparison of the prices & quality – The second is to be evincd by numberless instances, two of which I shall give as the most recent and Important – Having occasion for Window Glass for a House I was building I sent for my quantity 9 by 11; and got it in 8 by 10 – this was a considerable disappointment, & no small disadvantage to me, but not equal to the one that followd upon the Heels of it: I mean the Chariot, which I begd might be made of well seasond materials, and by a masterly Workman; instead of which, it was made

of wood so exceedingly Green that the Pannels slipd out of the mouldings before it was two months in use – Split from one end to the other – and became so open at the joints, tho every possible care was taken of it, that I expect very little further Service from it with all the Repairs I can bestow.

Besides this we frequently have slight goods & sometimes old & unsaleable articles put of upon us, and at such advanced Prices that one would be Inclind to think the Tradesmen did not expect to be paid in part for them; for it is a fact incontestably true that Linnens & other Articles that have their prices proportiond to their respective qualities, are to be bought in the Factors Stores here almost as cheap as we Import them, after the Merchant has laid on a sufficient advance for his profit – Disagreeable it is to me to mention these things to you, but when it is considered that my own dealings are confind wholly, & my Wards principally to your House, it is not to be wondered at that I shoud be dissatisfied with ill bought Goods, or a more indifft. price for Tobo. than is given to my Neighbours.

I am very glad that by meeting with Colo. Stewart you have got quit of the troublesome Doctr. McLean – the Nett sum of £302 I shoud have been very well content to have received, as I lent this money to that Gentleman to be returnd or not, as it suited his convenience; never expecting or desiring a farthing of Interest for the use of it.

You will perceive in looking over the several Invoices that some of the Goods there required, are upon condition that the Act of Parliament Imposing a Duty upon Tea, Paper &c. for the purpose of raising a Revenue in America is totally repeald; & I beg the favour of you to be governd strictly thereby, as it will not be in my

power to receive any Articles contrary to our Non-Importation Agreement to which I have Subscribd, & shall Religiously adhere to, if it was, as I coud wish it to be, ten times as strict. I am Gentn. Yr. Most Hble. Servt. Mount Vernon, Augt. 20th. 1770. GO. WASHINGTON.

(b) Extract from a letter of George Mason, from his estate, Gunston Hall, on the Potomac River, May 22, 1792, to his son John at Norfolk, Va. Rowland, K. M. *Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892), vol. ii, 357-358.

. . . As I shall forward this letter by the first post, I am in hopes it will find you in Norfolk, and shall therefore trouble you with the execution of a piece of business there, which though at first a trifle, is by the unexpected delay I have met with in it, now become an object of considerable importance to me. I wanted a few, a hundred feet of cypress scantling for the columns, rails, ballusters &c of the piazzas and steps to your brother Thomson's house. None of this scantling being large, it might, I dare say at any time have been procured in a fortnight, if attention had been paid to it. About this time twelve month or sooner, I wrote to Mr. John Brent and enclosed him an exact bill of this scantling and at the same time a memorandum of a large quantity of shingles I wanted, and desiring to know if they could be got at Norfolk so as to be landed here in the course of last summer or fall. I limited the price of the shingles, but as the quantity of cypress scantling was small I limited no price to that, but desired Mr. Brent to have it got as soon as he could, and sent up by the first vessel to Potomac river, to be landed about five or six miles below Alexandria, just at the upper end of General Washington's estate, and a very little below the large Pocorson, that runs from the mouth of Great Hunting Creek two or three miles down the river. Mr. Brent wrote me that the shingles could not be procured

at the price I had limited, but that I might depend upon the scantling's being immediately got and sent up by the first vessel, at all events in the course of the summer (viz.: last summer). It not coming, I have wrote repeatedly to Mr. Brent, twice this spring per post, but have had no answer. The captain of the packet from Alexandria to Norfolk was desired to speak to Mr. Brent about it. Mr. Brent told him the scantling was got, but had not been brought to Norfolk but that it should be at Norfolk, ready for the packet when she came down the next trip. The next trip the same excuse was made and the same promise repeated. In short I find Mr. Brent so careless and inattentive a man that no dependence or confidence can be placed in him. When the packet was at Alexandria some time ago your brother Thomson gave the captain a bill of this scantling, and desired the captain if when he went next to Norfolk Mr. Brent had not the scantling then ready for him to depend no longer upon him, but to have the scantling got and brought to Norfolk himself and bring it up with him. The packet went from Alexandria a few days ago, and is now, I suppose, at Norfolk, where perhaps she may continue some time. I have lately got all the shingles, which with all the weather boarding are ready to put up. The house will be raised next week, and I am in danger of having the building stopped, and half a dozen workmen upon my hands, doing nothing, for want of this small quantity of cypress scantling, without which the piazzas can't be raised. What I have therefore to beg of you is to inquire immediately of Mr. Brent and the captain of the packet, and if neither of them have already had the scantling got that you will endeavor to have it got with all possible expedition, and sent up by the packet now there, or if this can't

be done, by the packet next trip, or by any other vessel which may happen to be coming to Alexandria soon.

7 AN EFFICIENT FACTOR AND BROKER IN CHARLESTON

Advertisement of his business by Abraham Seixas, in the South Carolina *State Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1784. Reprinted by B. A. Elzas. *The Jews of South Carolina*, 129, 130.

ABRAHAM SEIXAS,
All so gracious,
Once again does offer
His service pure
For to secure
Money in the coffer.

He has for sale
Some negroes, male,
Will suit full well grooms,
He has likewise
Some of their wives
Can make clean, dirty rooms.

For planting too,
He has a few
To sell, all for the cash,
Of various price,
To work the rice,
Or bring them to the lash.

The young ones true,
If that will do,
May some be had of him
To learn your trade
They may be made,
Or bring them to your trim.

The boatmen great,
Will you elate
They are so brisk and free;
What e'er you say,
They will obey,
If you buy them of me.

He also can
Suit any man
With land all o'er the state;
A bargain sure,
they may procure
If they dont stay too late.

For papers he
Will sure agree,
Bond, note or publick debt;
To sell the same
If with good name
And buyer can be met.

To such of those
As will dispose
He begs to them to tell;
By note or Phiz,
What e'er it is
That they have got to sell.

He surely will
Try all his skill
To sell, for more or less,
The articles
Of beaux and belles,
That they to him address.

VI. PLANTATION VICISSITUDES

1 LOSSES BY DISEASE AND ACCIDENTS AMONG THE SLAVES

(a) *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas* (Wormsloe, 1850), 16. Extract from a letter of March 15, 1760, from a plantation near Charleston.

. . . A great cloud seems at present to hang over this province we are continually insulted by the Indians in our back settlements and a violent kind of small pox rages in Ch^{rs} Town that almost puts a stop to all business sev^{l} of those I have to transact business with are fled into the country but by the Divine Grace I hope a month or two will change the prospect, we expect shortly troops from General Amherst w^{ch} I trust will be able to manage these savage enemies and y^{e} small pox as it does not spread in y^{e} Country must soon be over for want of subjects I am now at Belmont to keep my people out of the way of y^{e} violent distemper for the poor blacks have died very fast even by inoculation but the people in Ch^{rs} Town were inoculation mad I think I may well call it and rushed into it with such precipitation y^{t} I think it impossible they could have had either a proper preparation or attendance had there been 10 Doct^{rs} in town to 1 – the Doct^{rs} could not help it the people would not be said nay. . .

(b) Letter of Jonas Smith, overseer on a plantation in central Georgia, Aug. 25, 1852, to his employer, Col. J. B. Lamar, Macon, Ga. MSS. of this and the three following in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Ga.

Yours of the 17th came duly to hand Bringing nuse that you had bin Sick & was yet unwell the Effects of

comin to Sumpter So late In the Season I Suppose. I hav bin Sick Since you left hear myself twice about too weeks but was only confined on the bed for 4 days I am up at presant but not much acount The Negrowes on this place Is verry Sickly & hav bin all the while since you Left us & the d[is]eases Is growin wors all the while as well as the attacks more numorous 18 on the Sick list today 16 of that nombr Field hands too out of the croud Billous fever & very Bad caises the Ballance chils & Fevers. Those that are out some of them unwell & unable to doo much all of them has Bin Sick & some of them has Bin sick twice & Several of them down the third time I hav so much Rain that It Is a hard mater to get one of them well As Soon as one Gets out It Rains on him or he Is In a large due or in a mud hole & Back he comes again this Is the way I'm getting on & I call this Rather Bad luck At least Getting on Slowley I hav used 2½ Gallons caster oile & ½ Gallon Sprts turpentine & 4 ounces quinine up to the presant I am doin the best I can with them Barron has Bin hear 15 Times. . . yours Truly, JONAS SMITH.

P.S. Since I commenced Riting 4 hands hav come to the house with fever makes 20 field hands down. I nearly hav a chill my Self.

(c) Same to same. Oct. 5, 1852.

Dear Sir: I a Gain Rite & will Inform you that we are all on the Land of the Living & all up & Halling corn at presant Except 3 hands are sick some we want to Get done Geathering corn this week & the crop of corn will not be a Large one but enough to doo on I Recon I hav not Picked much cotton since I Rote last But think that I hav open at this time 75 Bales & am doing my best to Get to picking The cotton Is most all open that we shall make this year Some of my hogs are fine & others not

so fat they hav a plenty & If they dont faten It will be ther fault.

I am behind with my work But If all stay at home & reap well we will come on slowley after a while

Levi Is out yet I hav not heard from him Lewis wants to Go they hate to work Badly I am your obdnt Servent

P.S. If you See any man about Macon that wold hire to Go on ther plantation & Gave a Good price & a heathy place Tell them that I am in the field unless all these things I will doe nothing.

(d) Same to same. Oct. 18, 1852.

Dear Sir: I Shall Rite Short as my head Ackes Badly we hav fine weather at presant I Finished Geathering corn on the 9th of this month & hav bin Geathering cotton since that time Since I Rote you last We hav had 12 field hands sick & hav six at presant & perhaps Tomorrow we may hav 10 or we may hav Three on the sick list as Some come In others Go out & under such misfortunes we hav to Labour we hav had so much sickness that the Negrowes have become weak & feble & Is Subject to chills avery change of weather I hav out 48 or 50 Bales & hav but Little Else to Doe now but pick & am d[o]ing my Best & that Is but little But I hope to Get along beter after a litle as the weather Gets cooler. I have 300 acres of cotton that Is perfectly white & I think on the 300 acres that ther must be 20 Bales on the Ground Blowed out by a Storm on the 9th of this month the Blow was Great I cannot pick so much since the Storm as I cold hav done provided the Storm had not come My crop of cotton Is beter than I thought once It cold Ever bee

Some people Say my crop Is Good for 175 Bales But I must think that Rather High prahaps 150 will be

about the nomber There Is Rite Smart of the article about hear & If It Rains In Six weaks we Shall Loose a Great Deal of that which Is on the Ground

How wold It doo to Send for help If I had 10 or 12 Good hands as we hav had Such Despert Luck In the way of Sicness

I can Geather the crop But not In time 150 or 60 Is as much as I Ever Saived By Christmas & cannot Save any more I hav Lost as much as 4 weaks with 20 hands this fall or I Shold hav had out 80 or 90 Bales by this time

If Mr Buckner cold Spare Some hands I cold Imploye them profitable But you are the best Judge of these things.

(e) Letter of Stancil Barwick, overseer on a plantation near Americus, Ga., July 15, 1855, to his employer, Col. J. B. Lamar, Macon, Ga.

Dear Sir: I received your letter on yesterday ev'ng was vary sorry to hear that you had heard that I was treating your Negroes so cruely. Now sir I do say to you in truth that the report is false thear is no truth in it. No man nor set of men has ever seen me mistreat one of the Negroes on the Place. Now as regards the wimin loosing children, treaty lost one it is true. I never heard of her being in that way until she lost it. She was at the house all the time, I never made her do any work at all. She said to me in the last month that she did not know she was in that way her self untill she lost the child. As regards Louisine she was in the field it is true but she was workt as she please. I never said a word to her in any way at all untill she com to me in the field and said she was sick. I told her to go home. She started an on the way she miscarried. She was about five months gone. This is the true statement of case. Now sir a pon my word an honnor I have tride to carry out your wishes

as near as I possibly could doo. Ever since I have been on the place I have not been to three neighbours houses since I have been hear I com hear to attend to my Busiriss I have done it faithfully the reports that have been sent must have been carried from this Place by Negroes the fact is I have made the Negro men work an made them go strait that is what is the matter an is the reason why that my Place is talk of the settlement. I have found among the Negro men two or three hard cases an I have had to deal rite Ruff but not cruly at all. Among them Abram has been as triflin as any man on the place. Now sir what I have wrote you is truth an it cant be disputed by no man on earth.

N.B. As regards my crop of corn I think I will make a plenty to doo the Place next year my cotton is injured by the wate weather an lice the weed is large enough but nothing on it. I will [be] done working it a week or ten days from this time.

(f) Letter of Stephen Newman, overseer of Thorn Island Plantation, Screven County, Ga., Feb. 28, 1837, to his employer, Miss Mary Telfair, Savannah. MSS. of this and the two following in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah.

Since riting to Mrs Haig on the –22– of this inst I have received your letter of the 24– inst– and your direction to remove York and his daughter was immediately complide with. I am Sorry to say that your woman, Eave, is very sick with the pluracy– I have but little hopes of her recovery– however the Doct say if she lives– 2– days longer he will have a hope of her recovery– I would recommend you to have all the Negroes removed to the Mills [another plantation owned by Miss Telfair in the adjacent county of Burke] where it is more healthy– with the Stock &c– and the land is more adapted to the culture of Corn and Cotton, for if

you will examine the Journal of the years work you will see from the great loss of time from Sickness and the deaths of so many fine Negroes that there can be but very little profit made at the Thornisland plantation – if the Negroes all worked at the Mills the profits would be greater and the expense less. We have had a spell of very cold bad wet weather and the greater part of the plantation inundated with water – which, I think, is the cause of its being so very Sickly your umble sert

STEPHEN NEWMAN.

I have kept the houses all repaired and well washed out with lime – the Spring of Water where they all use out of is in fine condition with every thing else to promote health – But to prevent Sickness and Death I cannot – but truly sorry for the loss – Doct Bailey in our neighbourhood has lost six with the same complaint and I have lost one and have four under the nurse.

(g) Extract from a letter of Elisha Cain, overseer on Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., Jan. 16, 1830, to his employer, Alexander Telfair, Savannah.

I have generly attended the sick on this Plantation with as good success as I could expect and have been so fortunate as to keep clear of the Doctors bills this two years but your Negros have a disease now a mong them that I am fully at a Loss to know what I had best to do. Two of them are down with the venereal disease, Die and Sary. Doctor Jenkins has been attending Die four weeks and very Little alteration as I can Learn. It is very hard to get the truth but from what I can learn Sary got it from Friday. I have got Mr. Broughton now to Doctor them that are yet to take it as I have been informed he is a very good hand.

[At the foot of the letter is the following note, written in a contemporary hand, with an illegible signature, probably by Alexander Telfair]

Friday is the House Servant sent to Retreat every summer. I have all the servants examined before they leave Savannah.

(h) Letter of J. N. Bethea, overseer of Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., May 1, 1859, to his employer, W. B. Hodgson, Savannah.

Mrs. Baily came up this evening to see Coteler. She says that she thinks that Coteler can be cured and she is willing to try her which she would not do if she did not think the woman could be cured. She wants Coteler at her house where she can give her constant attention. She thinks that good nursing is very essential in her case. She also wishes to feed her with such nourishment as she thinks will suit her case thinks that such as we feed with too heavy a diet. She speaks of curing cases which she thought equally as bad but probably not of such long standing. She thinks $20 too little for curing the woman, of course she will charge something for feeding her. I tride to draw out of her what she would charge for her nourishments, as she termes it, but she said that she had not thought of that matter and could not make any charge then. She will not take hold in the way your propose (no cure no pay) but says she is willing to do her best on her and then be paid for what she has done. The boy who goes with her would carry his provisions and be at no expe[n]ce. (Coteler's Boy who would go to wait on his mother).

(i) *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Sept. 17, 1834. News item.

CHOLERA IN SAVANNAH. – Letters from Savannah by last evening's mail, state on the seventh instant, that there was an amelioration of the disease on Major Wightman's plantation. The following is an extract of a letter from the overseer to the agent in this city: – "I am sorry to state that the Cholera rages, but not so vio-

lent as at first – many of the cases are very moderate and easily subdued – a few are violent as at first – one woman died last night, after four hours sickness. It is unnecessary to move the negroes to the pine land, as one old man who stayed there was attacked, went out of the house and was found at his last gasp in three or four hours afterwards – but I have distributed the negroes about in the church, barns, mills etc. and have taken every measure to prevent them from taking the disease, Between that and the plantation there has been no communication except myself going to see them, and an old fellow who carries milk to the children. The man who died had not been at the plantation for three months.

The reports of the negroes having eaten rotten corn, putrid meat, etc. are all without foundation, as they are well fed with sound provisions, and are supplied with good water. A committee of physicians from Savannah, have visited the plantation, and expressed their satisfaction at the appearance of the provisions.

The total number of cases amounts to fifty-three, out of which eighteen have died.

(j) *Federal Union*, Sept. 14, 1834. Clipping from the Charleston *Courier*. News item dated Savannah, Sept. 9.

The Cholera has spread in every direction. Of the sufferers, Mr. Merchant is in proportion to the number of hands, the greatest. On Mr. J. P. Williamson's Swamp plantation, three were taken on Sunday, and all died. He has abandoned his crops at Clifton, and moved to his pine lands, leaving six at Clifton too ill to be removed. It is now at Barclay's Gordon's, Potter's, Young's and in fact on almost every plantation on the River as low down as Mr. Petigru's. A letter says, the state of things at Mr. Merchant's is awful indeed. The person in charge is complaining that he cannot attend

to all the sick. In nearly every case that has proved fatal, the people became cold and pulseless in one or two hours. At Brampton, eight cases, since Monday, two extremely ill. God only knows what is best to be done. I have just received a letter from Mr. Sharpe, stating three deaths to-day, with many severe cases. He has commenced moving Mr. Potter's people.

(k) *Red River Republican* (Alexandria, La.), Aug. 3, 1850. News item.

The Cholera at Pointe Coupée. – We regret, says the Pointe Coupée Echo of the 20th. ult., that our duty to the community, as a public journalist, compels us to announce the appearance of the Cholera in our Parish; eighteen or twenty cases have occurred of a fatal character on the plantation of the late Colonel Charles Morgan, and two on that of Mr. Louis Porche.

(l) *Red River Republican* (Alexandria, La.), March 16, 1850. News item.

INUNDATED. Owing to a break in the levee on the Mississippi, a considerable portion of the lands on the Ouachita, Tensas, Little and Black Rivers have been inundated. That portion of the country has for several years escaped all the casualties that other portions of the State have been more or less afflicted with. It has enjoyed almost uninterrupted health, and generally produced the finest cotton crops in the State, neither high water nor any other cause interfering to prevent its fertile fields from yielding a rich harvest. But its turn has come, and from being the most favored, it has now become the most afflicted portion of the State. The Cholera and high water have both visited it this season.

The town of Trinity, situated at the junction of the above rivers, has suffered severely from the Cholera. The Advocate, published there, gives the names of the

following persons who in a few days fell victims to the awful scourge: A. J. Barr, James Hagan, Reuben T. Thoms, Wm. Guice, John Routon, Mrs. Martha Routon, his wife, and Miss J. A. Routon, their daughter. The Advocate after stating that the ravages of the disease is now stayed, sadly adds:

"In addition to the awful visitation that has shrouded our lately thriving and lively town in woe, we are nearly overflowed by high water, and have before us the dark and gloomy prospect of a complete inundation. The river is nearly as high now as it was in '44, and none doubt but that it will be much higher.

The pictures of sorrow and ruin are exhibited in striking features to our view. May He who tempers the breeze to the tender condition of incipient life, relieve us from the burthen of affliction that now weighs heavily upon us."

(m) Letter of James Habersham, Savannah, Ga., July 8, 1772, to Wm. Knox, London. MS. copy in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, printed in the Georgia Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. vi, 192, 193.

Dear Sir: The 13th Ultimo I wrote you a pretty long Letter, which was forwarded by the Georgia Planter Capt Inglis, who sailed the 14th Instant, since which your Overseer (Griffin) has been with me, and informs me, That on Tuesday Evening the 14th Instant about 8 oclock, the chimney of the dwelling House at Knoxborough was struck with Lightning, which brought it down even with the Eves of the House, and killed one of the 2 Boys, last bought for you, who was near the Chimney – This was a very fine Lad, and I suppose wou'd have sold for 50 or £60 – Griffin with an old Man and Woman was just sitting down to Supper, which was spoiled by the Room being filled with Smoak and Dust, with which, as he says, they were almost suf-

focated -- I am very sorry for this Accident, at which I hope and believe you will not repine as Providence has highly favoured you hitherto in the preservation of your People – Your Crop is in a very flourishing state, I am afraid too much so, as I dread the Rice lodging – I have been very busy in making up Gov: Wright's Accounts, and probably your Account may be the next I settle – The Weather is extremely hott, and fatigues me very much, Doctor Johnson has been out to one of my Plantations, and tells me, that a most valuable Negro and excellent Planter named Jacob, is very ill and he thinks he will scarcely recover his Attack of a Fever, The fellow is my Driver at Dean Forest, and cou'd I preserve his Life I wou'd not take any Money for him, not even £150 Sterl'g, but I have been used to these Losses. . .

(n) Louisiana *Courier* (New Orleans), March 3, 1828. Local news item.

Yesterday towards one o'clock P.M. as one of the Ferry boats was crossing the river, with 16 slaves on board, belonging to General Wade Hampton, with their baggage, a few rods distance from the shore, the negroes being frightened by the motion of the boat, all threw themselves on the same side, which caused the boat to fill, and notwithstanding the prompt assistance afforded, three or four of these unfortunates perished.

2 BAD SEASONS AND SLAVE RUNAWAYS

(a) Letter of Joseph Valentine, manager of the Custis estate on York River, Va., Aug. 24, 1771, to George Washington. Hamilton, S. M., editor. *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1898-1902), vol. iv, 81, 82.

Sir: The last time I Rote to you I acquainted you with the misfortain of our Crops Being drounded & overdone with the wet and now it is ass Bad the other way we have had no Rain Sence to do any Service to the

Corn or tobacco & it Burns up for being over done with the wet before it Cannot stand the drouth now the Corn Cannot Shoot out nor fill the tobacco the Roots of it was So mutch Sobd and overdone with the Rain before that the drouth Burns it up at the Bottom & fires at Sutch a Rate that I Can Scarsly tel what to do with it and more particular on the Leavel Stiff Land wheare the foundation would not let the water Sink from it for Sum time it is not Quite so bad on the light or hilley Land. if providence pleases to Send us a good Rain in a little time I hope it will make a great alteration in our Crops for the Better. Sir the young negro fellow will Shag who formerly lived at old Quarter and ass he was allways Runaway I moved him down heir to Settle theis places and thought he might be better but he Runaway Sum time in June went to Yorke and past for a free man By the name of will Jones but at last was taken up and put in prison and Sent a Letter up to me & I was up at the Quarters in new Kent at the Same time & the over Seer went down for him and Brout him up to the plantation and then will Beat him and got away & he Cant be got Sence I have heard he has Ben Seen on his way Coming up to you and ass their is a good many of his acQuaintence their he may Be harberd and no white person no of it he is advertizd and out Lawd he went away for no proyocation in the world bot So lazey he will not worke and a greater Roge is not to be foun. no more to add but Remain Sir your most hble sert.

JOSEPH VALENTINE.

(b) Letter of Wm. Capers, overseer on East Hermitage plantation, Savannah river, Chatham County, Ga., Nov. 14, 1861, to Charles Manigault. MS. in the possession of Mrs. H. Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

Dear Sir: At 9¾ Ocl., reached here all Negroes doing well, the three are safe, Big George, Dov. Jack, Lit-

tle George. Ishomail begged to remain; he betrayed his brother and little George. Jack caught in Back River by Driver John, in the small canoe; he resisted the Driver. George (big) attempted to run off in presents of the entire force and in my presents. He was caught by Driver John between Conveyor House and No. 1 door. I gave him 60 straps in presents of those he ran off in presents of. Everything else is as quiet as possible. Gentlemen be assured I will act in a calm and determined manner; I will stand by your interests until there is no more of me. I apprehend but little trouble after a week or so. The three men should be sent away, and if you can obtain $1000, for big George "to be sent to Cuba" let him go or you will loose him; he should not be among a gang of Negroes. I have not time or space to write all.

3 EMBARRASSMENTS FROM DEBT

Letter of Geo. Mason, Gunston Hall, Va., Dec. 21, 1773, to George Washington. Hamilton, S. M., editor. *Letters to Washington* (Boston, 1898-1902), vol. iv, 286.

The embarrass'd Situation of my Friend Mr. Jas. Mercer's Affairs gives Me much more Concern than Surprize. I always feared that his Aversion to selling the Lands & Slaves, in Expectation of paying the Debts with the Crops & Profits of the Estate, whilst a heavy Interest was still accumulating, wou'd be attended with bad Consequences, independant of his Brother's Difficulties in England; having never, in a single Instance, seen these sort of Delays answer the Hopes of the Debtor. When Colo. Mercer was first married, & thought in affluent circumstances by his Friends here, considerable Purchases of Slaves were made for Him, at high prices (& I believe mostly upon Credit) which must now be sold at much less than the cost: He was

originally burthened with a proportionable part of his Fathers Debts: most of which, as well as the old Gentleman's other Debts, are not only still unpaid, but must be greatly increased by Interest; so that even if Colo. Mercer had not incurr'd a large Debt in England, He wou'd have found his Affairs here in a disagreeable Situation. I have Bye me Mr. Mercer's Title-Papers for his Lands on Pohick Run & on Four-mile Run, in this County: which I have hitherto endeavoured to sell for Him in Vain: for as he Left the Price entirely to Me, I cou'd not take less for them than if they had been my own. . .

VII. OVERSEERS

1 AN OVERSEER'S TESTIMONIAL

Letter of S. P. Myrick, Milledgeville, Ga., Sept. 19, 1854, to Col. John B. Lamar, Macon. MS. in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Ga.

Dear Sir: I am requested by Mr Bagley to say to you, if Mr Collins does not stay with you the next year, he would like to attend to your business as overseer & promises to do so faithfully or forfeit his wages.

I have had Mr Bagley for two years & look on him as a good manager on a farm. I do not deem it necessary to enter into the particulars in refference to Mr B. as you would of course see him, before makeing any engagements & you have some knowledge of him as a business man, as he once done business for you. He wishes you to let him know on the receipt of this & he will meet you at any time you may name. . .

2 OVERSEERS WANTED

Advertisements from the South Carolina *Gazette* (Charleston), Jan. 6, 1787.

Great Encouragement will be given to an Overseer of a sober industrious Character, to manage a Rice and Lumber Plantation, about Thirty Miles from Charles-Town; or, in Case any Person, with a few experienced Sawyers, should incline to join his Hands, and undertake the cutting and sawing of Lumber only, it will be equally agreeable. For Information, apply to Printer.

WANTED: TWO OVERSEERS

One to Manage seven Pair of Sawyers, and a little

Planting; the other a Brick Yard with two Tables, both already settled. They must both be well recommended for being capable, sober and not passionate.

RICHARD BERESFORD.

St. Thomas's Parish, January 1, 1767.

3 A PLANTER'S APPRENTICE

"Extracts from the *Diary of Col. Landon Carter*," in William and Mary College *Quarterly*, vol. xiii, 48.

April 30, 1770. Saturday . . . Billy Beale, the youngest son of the late John Beale, a lad of about 18, came to me Saturday on a letter I wrote to his mother. He brought with him Mr. Eustace's and Mr. Edwards' consent, his guardians, that he should be bound to me in the place of William Ball, which the young gentleman very willingly agreed to & signed the same indentures as to the tenor of it as Ball had signed. He is to come here the 6th of May, and to serve me three years for £10 the year in order to be instructed in the stewardship or management of a Virginia estate. I ordered him as he went to his mother's to see my lower plantations, and bring me an account from under the hands of the overseers what quantity of grounds they are tending, how far they are advanced in it, what cattle they have lost and what stocks are remaining. . .

4 A QUESTION OF AUTHORITY

Letter of Samuel L. Straughan, overseer on Forest Quarter plantation, Virginia, to his employer, Robert Carter, of Nomoni Hall. MS. among the Carter papers in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

MR. CARTER Forist Quarter 27 September 1787.

Sir: I understand by Suckey that she has leave of you to stay at home and wash her Clothes at any time when she pleases & to goo to Eviry place to meeting in the

week She pleases Let the worke bee in what condition it will: for Last Saturday I hadn't bout 40 Thousand hills of Tops & Blads of foder out & was very likely for Rain & Did Rain & I sent for hir to Come in the morning to help Secoure the foder but She Sent me word that She would not come to worke that Day, & that you had ordered to wash hir Cloaiths & goo to Any meeting She pleased any time in the weke without my leafe, & on monday when I Come to Reken with hir about it She Said it was your orders & She would do it in Defiance of me, I Never Refuse to Let wone of the people goo to meeting If they ast my leafe, but without that If they that is under me Doo Contrary to my Direction they will Sufer for it As one of the people is as much to me as a other & I shall treat them as Such & I hope if Suckey is aloud that privilige more than the Rest that she will bee moved to some other place & one Come in her Room.

5 THE SHORTCOMINGS OF OVERSEERS

(a) Extract from a letter of James Habersham, Savannah, Ga., Jan. 15, 1772, to William Knox, London, England. MS. copy in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, printed in the Georgia Historical Society's *Collections*, vol. vi.

Mr. Graham has taken pains to possess me with a favourable opinion of your overseer, but I believe his late conduct has made him think otherwise, and if I had had some one proper to take his Place, I believe, I should yesterday have turned him away – He is very plausible and talkative, keeps a Journal of every days work, as he says, and from it, he gave me an account of 60 or 70,000 shingles more than he had to deliver, which made me look very foolish, after having engaged them. The fact was, he had taken the Negroes Account of their daily work without further examination, which

he owned, after he found me determined to resent his imposing a Falsity upon me; however I have forgiven him, and have told him, if ever I find him again the least prevaricating, I will instantly turn him adrift. . .

(b) Extract from a letter of G. M. Salley, Hayneville, Ala., Jan. 15, 1836, to Thos. W. Glover, Orangeburgh, S.C., concerning Glover's overseer. MS. in the possession of A. S. Salley Jr., Columbia, S.C.

The neighborhood report says the negroes pay little or no attention to what he says & in one instance when he told your Carpenter to carry home a basket of cotton for an old woman he said if he wanted it carried he might do it for he did not come there to work in the farm, & left it. Now you say you and Stroman both wish me to look to the business & act for you as I would do for myself. Now that would not do for I should settle with such a man the next day and dismiss him & hire one capable of managing the business & such an one could not be got for less than 3 or $400 & perhaps more, & neither of you would be willing to give such a price. But be assured it is your only chance if you want to make anything, for I assure you I would give such a man $150 dollars to quit any time & give a good overseer $500 rather than have him on a place of mine. (If reports be correct I believe him to be perfectly harmless but quite incompetent). . . .

(c) "Extracts from the *Diary of Col. Landon Carter*" (1772-1774), in William and Mary College *Quarterly*, vol. xiii, 220, 221; vol. xiv, 39, 40, 41, 184.

September 14, 1772. This day I went to see my plantations under John E. Beale. I got there with Mr. Giberne by 11 o'clock and dined there. I must observe that Jack lives well; but I was sorry to see his wife act the part of a fine lady in all her wearing aparell, with at least two maids besides her own girl to get the dinner

and wait upon her; but this I do suppose she did to shew her respect; however, I had rather have seen the dilligent, industrious woman. I rode after dinner full an hour and a quarter about the cornfield and tobo ground; the former pretty tollerable, and the latter well enough to pass; however, the tobo but narrow and small; and I do think most of it hous'd too green, although I was told it was rotting from the stalk, which I thought impossible for its substance. . .

September 15, 1772. I had here [at Rosegill] the opportunity of seeing the vanity of this youth and my son's boasting. I had heard of 2000 pr share, then 1500, and of neither suckers nor worms, but I saw many of both; and if the crops are of this size with what I saw no 10,000 plants of such tobo can make 1,500 l. the share. The corn was fair; but it has destroyed a noble pasture on Purpose kept for many years to support the cattle & the house in butter & milk, and now I heard they were hard put to it for either. I told my old friend as much; but he imputed it to the loss of his cattle last year, but was not that loss occasioned by the want of this Pasture, now three years kept from the cattle and more every year. In short the old Gentleman is a fine manager, but it is with him as it is with me; the least sickness is seen in the management of our affairs. This I foretold, and so it will be with others as they grow old. . .

October 14, 1772. Wednesday. My people seem to be quite dead hearted, and either cannot or will not work, and overseers, especially those on wages, will lie with expectations of great things. Lawson not two days ago told me should fill at least 3 90 foot houses of good tobacco. But I wish he may fill 9 inch ones. And he was certain of a better crop of corn than last year, when I am afraid he will not make one half of it.

October 19, 1772. . . William Lawson went up to take possession of my Park Quarter Thursday, the 15th of the month. He is to get things in order, and to bring down all my hogs to fatten here, for that rascal, Brown, not only sold all my last crop of corn, but even did not intend to make any this year; for he never wed the little that he tended; neither did he ever work my tobacco. . .

James Purcell is to be at the Fork Quarter on Monday next. I needed not to have a man there, but my dog of a foreman is now grown a lazy villain.

24. Saturday. Lawson came down on friday. He likes the Park land much; says there will be about 10,000 good tobo made, and as there are no hoggs to be fattened there, he thinks he shall [have] corn enough made to keep the Quarter this year, altho' there has been but little planted and hardly any of that tended.

Lawson is to marry & go up immediately, and after him Talbot shall carry the peoples things and his goods to the Falls. . .

February 21, 1774. Monday. Billy Beale off this day [to] Lover'shall, my Northumberland Plantation. I do suppose that his brother, the overlooker there, may be miffed at it; but I cannot bear to make nothing there with such fine land and such good hands. He is to bring me a particular account of everything, and to examine narrowly into everything. . .

June 3, 1774. Mr. Beale comes from seeing my Park Quarter and brought a discouraging account of the management of my cousin Charles Carter of Ludlow. The people in his neighborhood make great clearings for wheat which throws them so late that the ground cannot be prepared for either corn or tobacco. . .

(d) Extracts from the "Diary of John Harrower, 1773-1776," in *American Historical Review*, vol. vi, 92-97, *passim*.

Tuesday, February 14, 1775. This day the Col. on finding more wheat left among the straw than should be blamed Mr. Lewis the Overseer for his carelessness, upon which Mr. Lewis seemed verry much enraged for being spoke to and verry sawcily threw up all the keys he hade in charge and went off; upon which the Col. sent for me and delivered me the keys of the Barn and begged I would assist him in his business untill he got another Overseer. . .

Tuesday, 21st. Empld. as Yesterday. This day the Col. engaged a young man for an Overseer Whose name is Anthony Fraser. . .

Munday, 27th. This day Mr. Fraser came here and entred to take his charge as Overseer, and he is to have his bed in the school along with me. he appears to be a verry quiet young man and has hade a tolerable education. his Grandfather came from Scotland. . .

Freiday, June 16th. This day at 9 AM Col. Daingerfield set out for his Qr. down the Country at Chickahommanie to receive his Cash for the last years produce of said plantation from John Miller his Overseer there. . .

Saturday, July 22nd. On Saturdy. 13 Inst. some words happened betwixt John McDearmand and the Colo. about John's not being expedecious anough About stacking and requiring too many hands to attend him upon which John left his work immedeatly and has not returned since. And by the Accots. in my hands I find the Colo. is in Johns debt £9.10.9 Virga. Currancy. . .

(e) New Orleans *Bee*, May 17, 1845. News item.

The Natchitoches Chronicle reports a case decided at the last District Court at that place, in which a suit is

brought by an overseer for two hundred dollars wages. The jury however returned a verdict of five hundred dollars damages against the overseer for maltreating the slaves under his control.

6 THE ROUTINE PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF AN EFFICIENT OVERSEER

Letters of Elisha Cain, overseer on Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., to his employers, Alexander Telfair and Miss Mary Telfair, Savannah. MSS. in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah.

(a) TO ALEXANDER TELFAIR. Feb. 18, 1831.

I again write to inform you of the busine/s of this Plantation. I finnished Picking Cotton the tenth instant. I should have done much sooner if the weather had Permited me to worke. the Cotton crop is 205 Baggs. I have sent off 188 Baggs the wagons will start in the morning with 15 Baggs which will be all except two they will go next week with the Bacon and Larde also L. Peggy and her children they cannot go on the wagon when it is Loaded with Cotton while the Roade is so bad, I have killed thirteen thousand pounds Porke this year and saved it *neete*.

I have been some time considering what Plan to take with the manure this year or how to hawl it out and Prepair for a Crop in due time We have twice as much manure this year as we have ginerly had and not as much time to hawl my Land is now in Prime order for Ploughing and only eight Ploughs can run though the Corn Land is nearly in order to Lay off yet the Cotton Land will require a grate deel of worke to Put it in order for Planting the Logs and brush are very thick, but I have a Plan in view that I can Perhaps make out with all these things only it will not be in my Power to make it hit if I plant the March field in Cotton the Cow

pen and stable manure is very heavey and will take the best of worke to get it on the gin house field in four weeks with one wagon and team, cotton seed is soon hawled, and there is a grate quantity of them but they will not do to manure cotton my Plan is to Put the wagons and cartes to hawling the trash manure now immediately or as soon as the Cotton is hawled and get it done then the ox cartes can hawl the other manure while I am Ploughing and Planting and Even on till the Corn is half Leg high, I do not think it would be of much use to manure Cotton after it is Ridged off or Planted Except the manure was hawled out in the field before hand and Put in heeps and then Put betwen the Rowes after the Cotton was up some hight then if it was a drye year it would do good I said I could not Run but eight ploughs because the ballance of the mules is all worked with the wagons the laste mules that came is all at work and have as yet done well they were easily mannaged from the first, the cows have done well this winter but the young stears that I now have to worke is quite smawl the Sheep have not done well in haveing Lambs, I have lost a grate many of the Pigs though well attended to and fed one time every day the Negroes have been helthy only colds and they have for some time now done their work in as much Peace and have been as obediant as I could wish Charlot and Cynthy have young children Born since you Left here and are doing well, I paid Campbell & Glaze for the old gin they made no charge for the other worke the bill was $50. Mr. Boutin charge $25 dollars Doctor Jinkins Bill 15 dollars he done more than Boutin did in cureing the Negroes, we are much in want of a grind stone at this Place also Smawl Nails I have Plenty of Large Nails There is other things also much wanted all of which I cant

Reclect we want one coarse Plain and one or two Spades and one or two Sithe Blades and files Small and Large, I have Received all the articles named in your Letter, I have just Received one Pair of the Carte wheels and will Soon have them Runing.

(b) To Miss Mary Telfair. Nov. 20, 1836.

I have received your letter of the 15th inst. I have received the Negroe shoes and given them out also I have gave them their winter clothing that is the woolin Home spun as far as it was wove and will soon have the Ballance wove all the children have had cloth the winter shirts will then be to spin & weave, after sending the usual Quantity of hams to Savannah I gave the Ballance out to the Negroes in the Early Part of the season while they were good as I did not expect you would wish any of them sent down in the fall season. Nanny has not made any Butter yet, the cows were all nearly drye and I had them turned in to the swamp as I did not have any of the fields open to put them in my cotton was wasting and the wagons on the Road so that I did not stop to gather Corn untill the wet set in it was in the Best season for saveing the cotton that the Negroes were down sick from eight to ten at a time and that for the space of six weeks or more two have died namely Lucretia and Delias child John. The sickness was very prevalent in this Neighbourhood more so than I ever saw though it is jinerly helthy. At Presant I expect to send three Hundred Bales of Cotton from this Plantation this year all though it has Roted very much in Places that is if I can save what is yet in the fields I have Packed out 160 Bales have as much as 60 Picked ahead of the gin my hands have Picked well when they were Able they see the cotton wasting and some of them appear to have a kind of Pride in making a good

crop I have long since known that I Planted inferior seed on this Plantation but saw no chance to do Better But I did not think there could be so grate differance in seeds as what has Been mannifested this year on this Plantation. the Petty Gulph seed is all that the Planter can desire in the way of Cotton seed had it not been for the seed Mr. Habersham sent and one Load from Mr. Jones Plantation and one Load from Mr. Fitzsimmons Plantation which I changed seed for the crop on this Plantation would have been verry Lite this year.

I got the New gin Mr. Campbell sent from Augusta I had some trouble and Loss of time to get it to work it being a sixty saw my works which done for the old gin was not strong enough for the new one; but I have got it a Running and think it will answer it takes four mules to work it where as two was sufficiant for the gin I had. Since the Rains set in the Cotton being so wet I cannot Pick so while it was wet I have gathered corn so as to get the Hogs in the field and the Sheep and will now see if there is any of the Cows worth takeing up to milk and make what Butter we can untill the fields are Eate out the cattle is in as good order as they Ever are at this season the corn crop is sufficiant for the use of the Plantation Plenty of good fodder the Pea crop not very good the oats were not worth saveing Except for seed oats indeed they done the stock very little good they were Ruined by the Blast. I have sent the soap the Turkeys I will send in the Morning as the wagons leave here with the cotton onst a week.

Charlotte & Venus & Mary & Little Sary have all had children and have not received their baby clothes also Hetty & Sary & Coteler will want baby clothes. I see a Blanket for the old fellow Sampson he is dead. I thought I wrote to you that he was dead Little Peggy

Sarys daughter has not ever drawn any Blanket at all, and when they come I think it would be right to give her the Blanket that was sent to Sampson.

It is not my wish to Dictate to you nor do I wish to make any a Rangement with the Business without your approbation but the Spinning Business on this Plantation is very ungaining in the Presant arangement there is eight hands Regular imployed in spinning and weaveing four of which spin [wa]rpe and it could be bought at the factory at 120 dollars Annually, besides it takes 400 lbs. of cotton each year Leaveing 60 dollars only to the four hands who spin warp. At Col. Cobbs Plantation they spin wool but he buys all the warp. these hands are not old negroes not all of them two of Nannys Daughters or three I may say are all Able hands also Mary and Peggy are good field hands and these make neither corn nor meet take out $20. to pay their borde and it Leaves them in debt. I give them their task to spin and they say they cannot do any more that is they have what is jenerly given as a task.

(c) To Miss Mary Telfair Dec. 14, 1840.

Jacob returned to me and brot. your letter dated 5th Inst I feel it to be my indispensible duty to obey your instructions at all times concerning the management of this plantation, altho I feel that it will be at the expense of justice and an injury in the future government of these negroes to let Jacob go unpunished, as he ran away from me, and not from John; soon as I saw your letter I asked him how he could go to you with such a falsehood, saying John had beat him, when it was well known to near all on the plantation that no such thing had taken place; he positively denied telling that John had whiped him, but that he told you John was driver and himself and John had a falling out, and he feared

that I would whip him; I write this to let you know how inconsistent they will act and talk; Jacob is a boy that I have ever treated with kindness, I feel convinced that he did not run away with his own council; I found a camp near your plantation, where ranaway negroes had concealed themselves, and when I approached it they were gone, I thought Jacob & Hector, who is yet out, had made it, but Jacob says he went to it expecting to find Hector, but found three negroes that he does not know.

When I named the subject of having a driver, to Mr. Jones, I thought that I explained it so as not to give any cause of complaint; by the term driver, I do not mean to appoint a hand to lay off tasks & use the whip, neither was it for the purpose of indulging myself, but for the purpose of attending to the work being done in better order. The extension of the plantation and increase of hands has placed it beyound my power to render all the attention in *person*, that my judgement dictates absolutely nece/sary; I am frequently compelled to work them in three seperate cla/ses, (viz) plow hands, hoe hands, the full grown & small hands these seperate classes are frequently seperate a considerable distance from each other, and so soon as I am absent from either they are subject to quarrel & fight, or to idle time, or beat and abuse the mules, and when called to an account, cach negro present when the misconduct took place, will deny all about the same; I therefore thought & yet believe that for the good order of the plantation, and faithful performance of their duty; it was proper to have some faithful and trusty hand, whose duty it should be to report to me those in fault, and that is the only dread they have of John, for they know he is not authorised to beat them.

You mention in your letter that you do not wish your negroes treated with severity. I have ever thought my fault on the side of lenity; If they were treated severe as many are I should not be their overseer on any consideration.

The meat held out this year to give eleven allowances commencing in Jany. it held out to Novr. which is one month longer than usual; it requires 1050 lbs. to give your negroes here one allowance, the bacon Mr. Habersham sent up, though good was not perfectly dry, it lost considerable in drying, that which I killed was small and lost more in drying than it otherwise would have done.

I wrote to you about the 3rd Inst. giving you an account of the plantation stock &c which letter I hope you have recd. before this. I then wrote that three of your negroes were sick, to wit Lydia, & two of Charlot's children, since then the two children are dead, namely Maria & Eda. . .

7 ASSISTANT OVERSEERS

Extract of a letter from Charles Manigault, Paris, France, July 12, 1848, to G. T. Cooper, his overseer on Gowrie plantation, Chatham County, Ga. MS. copy in Charles Manigault's letter book in the possession of Mrs. H. Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

With regard to what you say respecting a sub-overseer, I must now state that all I wrote you respecting one was merely to shew you that anything you thought beneficial to my place I was ready to agree to, and I am now happy indeed to find that your opinion & experience completely coincides with mine – for I have had many young men as sub-overseers on the place, & never yet found one who gave entire satisfaction, for all of them shewed a jealous disposition being always anxious to put a wrong meaning to their instructions, or follow-

ing them in so lo[o]se a manner as shew'd too clearly that they were secretly in opposition to the manager. And if I should ever have another on my place I have made it a rule to avoid every one who comes from the Georgia or Carolina shore, or whose family resides anywhere on or near the Savannah River – for in this case while on the place their friends & acquaintances are constantly coming to see them – or they take my Negroes & slip off in a boat to visit their friends. I could say much more on this subject, but you seem to know it as well as I do – & will only add that if one of these people happens to be turned away he goes home, & then we are sure to have an enemy in our neighborhood.

8 THE PURCHASE OF A PLANTATION FOREMAN

Extracts of letters of Wm. Capers, overseer on Gowrie Plantation, Savannah River, 1860, to Charles Manigault, his employer at Charleston, S.C. MSS. in the possession of Mrs. H. Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

(a) Letter of Aug. 5, 1860.

John is about 45 years old, & if he is the man that I had as Driver [plantation foreman] when at Mr. Pringle's *buy him by all means*, there is but few negroes more competent than he is, and was not a drunkard when under my management, & was not ruptured. In speaking with John he does not answer like a smart negro but he is quite so. You had better say to him who is to manage him on Savannah. On Wednesday the 8th will have a Boat at the S. river for him.

(b) Letter of Aug. 11, 1860.

John arrived safe & handed me yours of the 9th inst. I congratulate you on the purchase of said negro, he says he is quite satisfied to be here and will do as he has always done 'during the time I have managed him.' No drink will be offered him. All on my part will be done to bring John all right.

(c) Letter of Oct. 15, 1860.

I have found John as good a driver as when I left him on Santee, bad management was the cause of his being sold & am glad you have been the fortunate man to get him, his measure is 11¼ inches, or no. 10 shoe.

VIII. PLANTATION LABOR: INDENTED WHITES

1 CLASSES AND CONDITIONS OF WHITE SERVANTS

Jones, Hugh. *Present State of Virginia*, 1724. Sabin's reprint (New York, 1865), 53, 54.

The Ships that tran/port these Things often call at Ireland to victual, and bring over frequently white Servants, which are of three Kinds. 1. Such as come upon certain Wages by Agreement for a certain Time. 2. Such as come bound by Indenture, commonly call'd Kids, who are u/ually to /erve four or five Years; and 3. tho/e Convicts or Felons that are tran/ported, who/e Room they had much rather have than their Company; for abundance of them do great Mi/chiefs, commit Robbery and Murder, and /poil Servants, that were before very good: But they frequently there meet with the End that they de/erved at Home, though indeed /ome of them prove indifferent good. Their being /ent thither to work as Slaves for Puni/hment, is but a mere Notion, for few of them ever lived /o well and /o ea/y before, e/pecially if they are good for any thing. The/e are to /erve /even and /ometimes fourteen Years, and they and Servants by Indentures have an Allowance of Corn and Cloaths, when they are out of their Time, that they may be therewith /upported, till they can be provided with Services, or otherwi/e /ettled. With the/e three Sorts of Servants are they /upplied from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, among which they that have a Mind to it may /erve their Time with Ea/e and Sati/fac-

tion to them/elves and their Ma/ters, e/pecially if they fall into good Hands.

Except the la/t Sort, for the mo/t Part who are loo/e Villains, made tame by Wild, and then en/laved by his Forward Name/ake: To prevent too great a Stock of which Servants, and Negroes many Attempts and Laws have been in vain made.

The/e if they for/ake their Roguery together with the other Kids of the later Jonathan, when they are free, may work Day-Labour, or el/e rent a /mall Plantation for a Trifle almo/t; or el/e turn Over/eers, if they are expert, indu/trious and careful, or follow their Trade, if they have been brought up to any; e/pecially Smiths, Carpenters, Taylors, Sawyers, Coopers, Bricklayers, &c. The Plenty of the Country and the good Wages given to Work-Folks occa/ion very few Poor, who are /upported by the Parish, being /uch as are lame, /ick or decrepit through Age, Di/tempers, Accidents, or /ome Infirmities; for where there is a numerous Family of poor Children the Ve/try takes care to bind them out Apprentices, till they are able to maintain them/elves by their own Labour; by which Means they are never tormented with Vagrant, and Vagabond Beggars, there being a Reward for taking up Runaways, that are at a /mall Di/tance from their Home; if they are not known or are without a Pa/s from their Ma/ter, and can give no good Account of them/elves, e/pecially Negroes. . .

2 FAVORABLE VIEWS OF THE INDENTED SYSTEM

(a) Extract from John Hammond's *Leah and Rachel* (1656). Reprint in Peter Force's *Tracts*, vol. iii.

The labour servants are put to, is not so hard nor of such continuance as Husbandmen, nor Handecraftmen are kept at in England, I said little or nothing is done

in winter time, none ever work before sun rising nor after sun set, in the summer they rest, sleep or exercise themselves five houres in the heat of the day, Saturdayes afternoon is always their own, the old Holidayes are always observed and the Sabbath spent in good exercises.

The Women are not (as is reported) put into the ground to worke, but occupie such domestic employments and housewifery as in England, that is dressing victuals, righting up the house, milking, imployed about dayries, washing, sowing &c. and both men and women have times of recreations, as much or more than in any part of the world besides, yet som wenches that are nasty, beastly and not fit to be so imployed are put into the ground, for reason tells us, they must not at charge be transported and then maintained for nothing, but those that prove so aukward are rather burthensome then servants desirable or useful. . .

Those servants that will be industrious may in their time of service gain a competent estate before their Freedomes, which is usually done by many, and they gaine esteeme and assistance, that appear so industrious: There is no master almost but will allow his servant a parcell of clear ground to plant some Tobacco in for himself, which he may husband at those many idle times he hath allowed him and not prejudice, but rejoyce his Master to see it, which in time of Shipping he may lay out for commodities, and in Summer sell them again with advantage, and get a Sow-Pig or two, which any body almost will give him, and his Master suffer him to keep them with his own, which will be no charge to his Master, and with one year's increase of them may purchase a Cow-Calf or two, and by that time he is for himself; he may have Cattle, Hogs and Tobacco of his own, and come to live gallantly; but this must be gained (as

I said) by Industry and affability, not by sloth nor churlish behaviour.

And whereas it is rumored that Servants have no lodging other then on boards, or by the Fire side, it is contrary to reason to believe it: First, as we are Christians; next as people living under a law, which compels as well the Master as the Servant to perform his duty; nor can true labour be either expected or exacted without a sufficient cloathing, diet and lodging; all which both their Indentures (which must inviolably be observed) and the Justice of the Country requires.

(b) Extract from a letter of George Alsop, an indented servant, to his father, *circa* 1659, printed in the Maryland Historical Society's *Fund Publications*, no. 15, 94.

The Christian inhabitant of this Province, as to the general, lives wonderful well and contented: The Government of this Province, is by the loyalness of the people and loving demeanor of the Proprietor and Governor of the same, kept in a continued peace and unity.

The Servants of this Province, which are stigmatiz'd for Slaves by the clappermouth jaws of the vulgar in England, live more like Freemen then the most Mechanick Apprentices in London, wanting for nothing that is convenient and necessary, and according to their several capacities, are extraordinary well used and respected. So leaving things here as I found them, and lest I should commit Sacriledge upon your more serious meditations, with the Tautologies of a long-winded Letter, I'le subscribe with a heavenly Ejaculation to the God of Mercy to preserve you now and for evermore, Amen. Your Obedient Son, G. A.
From Mary-Land, Jan. 17, Anno

3 AN ADVERSE CRITICISM

Eddis, William. *Letters from America* (London, 1792), 69-71, describing conditions as observed by him about 1770.

The generality of the inhabitants of this province, are very little acquainted with those fallacious pretences, by which numbers are continually induced to embark for this continent. On the contrary, they too generally conceive an opinion that the difference is merely nominal between the indented servant and the convicted felon: nor will they readily believe that people, who had the least experience in life, and whose characters were unexceptionable, would abandon their friends and families, and their ancient connexions, for a servile situation, in a remote appendage of the British Empire. From this persuasion they rather consider the convict as the more profitable servant, his term being for seven, the latter only for five years; and, I am sorry to observe, that there are but few instances wherein they experience different treatment. Negroes being a property for life, the death of slaves, in the prime of youth or strength, is a material loss to the proprietor; they are therefore, almost in every instance, under more comfortable circumstances than the miserable European, over whom the rigid planter exercises an inflexible severity. They are strained to the utmost to perform their allotted labour; and, from a prepossession in many cases too justly founded, they are supposed to be receiving only the just reward which is due to repeated offences. There are doubtless many exceptions to this observation, yet, generally speaking, they groan beneath a worse than Egyptian bondage. By attempting to lighten the intolerable burthen, they often render it more insupportable. For real or imaginary causes, these frequently attempt to escape, but very few are successful; the country being

intersected with rivers, and the utmost vigilance observed in detecting persons under suspicious circumstances, who, when apprehended, are committed to close confinement, advertised, and delivered to their respective masters; the party who detects the vagrant being entitled to a reward. Other incidental charges arise. The unhappy culprit is doomed to a severe chastisement; and a prolongation of servitude is decreed in full proportion to expences incurred, and supposed inconveniences resulting from a desertion of duty.

4 INDENTED LABOR USELESS ON A DISTURBED FRONTIER

Extract from a letter to George Washington from Valentine Crawford, his overseer and agent, in an attempt to establish a plantation in western Virginia, 1774. *Letters to Washington*, S. M. Hamilton, editor (Boston, 1898-1902, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for the Society of Colonial Dames), vol. v, 12-14.

Jacobs Creeke June 8th 1774.

Dear Colo: I Received your Letter by Mr. Creley of the 27th of May and am Sorrey for the Sudint Braking up of the Esembly before they hitt on Som Method to Releve our Distress Situation Butt it is a happey Scurcumstance for us Lordonmore [Lord Dunmore, governor of the colony] being So warm in our favour which gives us great Reselution to stand our ground what few of us is Left though the Contre [country] is very thin we have Bilt Sevrell Forts out Hear which wase a very great means of the people Standing there ground I have built one att My house and have got Som Men to garde it and Mr. Simson has Built a Fort att the place where they are Building of your Mill by the Esistence of His Neabours and part of your Carpenters and I have been there Severell times and have Encuraged him all I can to Stand his Ground and I have Severell times oferd

him all the Carpenters and all the Sarvants but he would not take aney of the Sarvants and but four of the best of the Carpenters his Reason for not taking of the Sarvents as there wase a great dale of Companey att the Fort and drink Midling plenty it would be out of his power to govern them and he Said they would Run away from him and as to Carpenters he and Stephens the Millwright had Engaged Som Carpenters them Selves before this Erouption broake out with the Indens and are Louth to discharge them and take in these you Engagd for me to take down the ohio or att Least aney More of them than Convenently work as he Says from the Noys of the Indens and the Crowds of people that Come to the Fort he Cant get Nothing don with the Small Numbr of hands he has but I will goe to Simson to Morrow morning and Consult him farther on the afair and doe Every thing in My power for your Entrast the thoughts of selling of the Sarvents Elarmed them verey Much for they dont want to be Sold but the hole of the Sarvents have had Som Short Spells of Sickness and Som others Cut them Selfes with an ax and Lay bye Som time and one of the best of Stephens Men Cut him Selfe with an adze the worst I Ever Saw aney body Cut in My Life So that he has Not been able to doe one Strok for Near one Month this hapened in digin the Canews I have Sent you a Scetch of Stephens article when I waite on Simson if he does Not take the Carpenters all I Shall Ether Sett them to building of a house att the big Medows or discharge them intirely for it Seems all Most Emposable to Ceep Men Close to bisness att a Fort where there is So meney people and So much Confusion if they Can doe Eney thing it Must be att the Medow as they will be to them Selfes and as Stevens Seems to be verey Loth to be discharged and Says he Left som very good Jobs to Serve you.

5 RUNAWAY REDEMPTIONERS AND CONVICTS

(a) Virginia *Historical Register*, vol. vi, 96-97, advertisements reprinted from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), 1736-1737.

Ran away lately from the Bristol Company's Iron Works, in King George County, a servant man named James Sumners, a West Country [i.e. Cornish] Man, and speaks thick, he is a short thick fellow, with short black hair and a ruddy complexion. Whoever secures the said servant and brings him to the said Iron Works, or to the Hon. John Taylor, Esq., in Richmond County, or gives notice of him, so as he may be had again, shall be well rewarded besides what the law allows.

Nansemond, July 14, 1737.

Ran away some time in June last, from William Pierce of Nansemond County, near Mr. Theophilus Pugh's Merchant: a convict servant woman named Winifred Thomas. She is Welsh woman, short black Hair'd and young; mark'd on the Inside of her Right Arm with Gunpowder W. T. and the Date of the Year underneath. She knits and spins, and is supposed to be gone into North Carolina by the way of Cureatuck and Roanoke Inlet. Whoever brings her to her master shall be paid a Pistole besides what the law allows, paid by

WILLIAM PIERCE.

(b) Virginia *Gazette*, Feb. 26, 1767. Advertisement.

Run away from the subscriber in Augusta, on the 17th of January last, a convict servant man named John Jones, an Englishman, about 35 years of age, about 5 feet 7 inches high, of a fair complexion, and fair short hair; had on when he went away a blue homemade drugget jacket lined with striped linen, a blue broad cloth do. under it, leather breeches, coarse spun shirt

made out of hemp linen, sheep gray stockings, and country made shoes; he has been a sailor, and I suppose will endeavour to get on board some vessel. I have heard that he has altered his name at Fredericksburg, and stole from thence a ruffed shirt, a pair of everlasting breeches, an old whitish coloured jacket, and two razors. Whoever takes up the said servant, and brings him to me, or John Briggs at Falmouth, or secures him in any county goal so that I may get him again, shall have five pounds reward, paid by me or John Briggs.

ANDREW BURD.

N.B. As he is a very good scholar, it is imagined he will forge a pass.

(c) South Carolina *Gazette* (Charleston), June 16 to 23, 1739. Advertisement.

Savannah, May 7, 1739.

Run away on the 5th Instant from Robert William's Plantation in Georgia, 3 Men Servants, one named James Powell, is a Bricklayer by Trade about Five Feet 9 inches high, a strong made man, born in Wiltshire, talks broad, and when he went away he wore his own short hair, with a White cap: Among his comrades he was call'd Alderman.

Another named Charles Gastril did formerly belong to the Pilot Boat at Pill near Bristol, is by Trade a Sawyer, about 5 feet 10 Inches high, of a thin spare make, raw boned, and has a Scar somewhere on his upper Lip, aged about 25.

The 3rd named Jenkin James, a lusty young fellow, about the same Height as Gastrill, has a good fresh complection, bred by trade a Taylor, but of late has been used to Sawing, talks very much Welshly, and had on when he went away a coarse red coat and waistcoat, the Buttons and Button holes of the Coat black.

Any person or Persons who apprehend them, or either of them, and bring them to Mr. Thomas Jenys in Charleston, or to the said Mr. Robert Williams in Savannah shall receive 10 l. Currency of South Carolina for each . ROBERT WILLIAMS.

'Besides the above mentioned Reward, there is a considerable sum allow'd by the Trustees [of the colony of Georgia] for taking run away Servants.

N.B. About a Fortnight ago, three other of the said Robert William's Servants run away, who are already advertized.

6 A STAMPEDE OF SPANISH AND ITALIAN BONDMEN IN BRITISH FLORIDA

(a) Boston *Chronicle,* Sept. 26, 1768. News item from Mosquito Inlet, Florida, contained in a letter from a correspondent in Charleston, S.C., Sept. 12.

News that on Aug. 17, about two hundred of the Spaniards and Italians introduced by Doct. Turnbull, and which he was settling at Musquito's, rose and siezed a Schooner which was employed in carrying Provisions to the settlement. They tried to capture other vessels also and get away to Havanna; but the wind was against them. An express was sent to St. Augustine. Two sloops full of troops were sent to prevent them getting away from Musquito's. The Spaniards, upon the troops arriving, took to the bushes. It is apprehended that Mr. Turnbull will have much trouble with the settlers he has introduced.

(b) Extract from Bernard Romans's *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1776), 268-273.

[About 35 miles south of St. Augustine, on St. John's River,] A few miles from the bar is the situation of the town or settlement made by Dr. Turnbull for Sir

William Duncan, himself, and perhaps more associates; this town is called *New Smyrna*, from the place of the Doctor's lady's nativity. The settlements round this famous town extend considerably along the banks of this *lagoon*, and large quantities of very good indigo have been made here. If my reader is inquisitive to know why i call this *famous*, i answer on account of the cruel methods used in settling it, which made it the daily topic of conversation for a long time in this and the neighboring provinces.

About 1500 people, men, women and children, were deluded away from their native country, where they lived at home in the plentiful cornfields and vineyards of Greece and Italy, to this place, where instead of plenty they found want in its last degree, instead of promised fields, a dreary wilderness; instead of a grateful fertile soil a barren arid sand; and in addition to their misery, were obliged to indent themselves, their wives, and children for many years, to a man who had the most sanguine expectations of transplanting *Bashawship* from the Levant. The better to effect his purpose, he granted them a pitiful portion of land for ten years, upon the plan of the feodal system: this being improved and just rendered fit for cultivation, at the end of that term it reverts to the original grantor, and the grantee, may, if he chuses, begin a new state of vassalage for ten years more. Many were denied even such grants as these, and were obliged to work in the manner of negroes, a task in the field; their provisions were at the best of times only a quart of maize per day, and two ounces of pork per week; this might have sufficed with the help of fish which abounds in this *lagoon*, but they were denied the liberty of fishing, and lest they should not labour enough, inhuman taskmasters were set over

them, and instead of allowing each family to do with their homely fare as they pleased, they were forced to join all together in one mess, and at the beat of a vile drum, to come to one common copper, from whence their *homany* was laded out to them; even this coarse and scanty meal was through careless management rendered still more coarse, and through the knavery of a proveditor, and the pilfering of a hungry cook, still more scant. . .

. . . O Florida! were this the only instance of similar barbarity which thou hast seen, we might draw a veil over these scenes of horror; but Rolles Town, Mount Royal, and three or four others of less note have seen too many wretches fall victims to hunger and ill usage, and that at a period of life when health and strength generally maintain the human frame in its greatest vigor, and seem to insure longevity. Rolles-Town in particular has been the sepulchre of above four hundred such victims. Before i leave this subject i will relate the insurrection to which these unhappy people at *New Smyrna* were obliged to have recourse, and which the great ones stiled rebellion. In the year 1769 at a time when the unparalleled severities of their task-masters, particularly one *Cutter* (who had been made a justice of the peace, with no other view than to enable him to execute his barbarities to a larger extent, and with greater appearance of authority) had drove these wretches to despair, they resolved to escape to the *Havannah*; to execute this, they broke into the provision stores, and siezed on some craft lying in the harbour, but were prevented from taking others by the care of the masters. Destitute of any man fit for the important post of a leader, their proceedings were all confusion, and an Italian of very bad principles, who was

accused of a rape on a very young girl, but of so much note that he had formerly been admitted to the overseer's table, assumed a kind of command; they thought themselves secure where they were, and this occasioned a delay, 'til a detachment of the ninth regiment had time to arrive, to whom they submitted, except one boatfull, which escaped to the Florida keys; but was taken up by a Providence-man: many were the victims destined to punishment; as i was one of the grand jury which sat fifteen days on this business, i had an opportunity of canvassing it well, but the accusations were of so small account that we found only five bills; one of these was against a man for maiming the above said Cutter, whom, it seems, they had pitched upon as the principal object of their resentment, and curtailed his ear, and two of his fingers;– another for shooting a cow, which being a capital crime in England, the law making it such was here extended to this Province; the others were against the leader, and three more, for the burglary committed on the provision store; the distress of the sufferers touched us so, that we almost unanimously wished for some happy circumstances that might justify our rejecting all the bills, except that against the chief, who was a villain. One man was brought before us three or four times, and at last was joined in one accusation with the person who maimed Cutter; yet no evidence of weight appearing against him, i had an opportunity to remark by the appearance of some faces in court, that he had been marked, and that the grand jury disappointed the expectations of more than one great man. Governor Grant pardoned two, and a third who was obliged to be the executioner of the remaining two. . . I have dwelt the longer on this subject, because the native prejudice of vulgar Englishmen has

represented the misfortunes of these wretches in too black a light. It is said that Dr. Stork, who was near the spot when the insurrection happened, died with the fright, and Cutter some time after died a lingering death, having experienced, besides his wounds, the terrors of a coward in power, overtaken by vengeance.

7 INDENTED ARTISANS

(a) Virginia *Gazette*, April 16, 1767. Advertisement.

Run away from King William court-house, on the 14th of March last, three apprentice boys, viz. James Axley, a carpenter, about 5 feet 8 inches high, and wears his own black hair cued behind; had on when he went away a gray cloth coat, without pockets or flaps, and a pair of leather breeches much daubed with turpentine. William Arter, a carpenter, rather taller and better set than the former, of a dark complexion, has black hair, but his clothes no way remarkable. William Kindrick, a bricklayer, which business he understands well, and is supposed to be gone with a view of carrying it on with the other boys; he is a fresh complexioned youth, wears a cap, and had on a bearskin coat with metal buttons, a dark brown waistcoat, and a pair of lead coloured serge breeches. It is supposed they are gone to Bedford, or into Carolina. Whoever brings the said apprentices to King William or Hanover court-houses shall have forty shillings reward for each, besides their expenses defrayed.

FRANCIS SMITH, Sen.-JAMES GEDDY.

(b) Virginia *Gazette*, March 26, 1767.

Run away from the subscriber, in Northumberland county, two Irish convict servants named William and Hannah Daylies, tinkers by trade, of which the woman is extremely good; they had a note of leave to go out

and work in Richmond county and Hobb's Hole, the money to be paid to Job Thomas, in said county; soon after I heard they were run away. The man wore a light coloured coarse cloth frock coat, a blue striped satin jacket, and plaid one, a pair of leather breeches, a pair of Russia drill white stockings, a little brown bog wig, and his hat cocked up very sharp. He is about 5 feet 8 inches high, of a sandy complexion, and freckled; is a well made fellow, somewhat bow legged. The woman had on an old stuff gown and a light coloured petticoat, and under petticoat of cotton with a blue selvedge at the bottom, a blue striped satin gown, the same with his jacket, two check aprons, and a pair of pale blue calimanco shoes. They both wore white shirts, with very short ruffles, and white thread stockings. They had a complete set of tinkers tools. They were seen to have two English guineas and a good deal of silver, and said in Essex county they lived in Agusta, and inquired the road that way. Whoever will apprehend both or either of said servants, and brings them to me, shall have five pounds reward for each, and reasonable travelling charges allowed by

WILLIAM TAITE.

(c) Virginia *Gazette*, Nov. 1767.

Prince George, November 10, 1767.

Supposed to be run away from the subscriber (having liberty about three weeks ago to go up to Osborne's and Warwick, on James river, to look for work, and not since heard of) an indented servant man named Alexander Cuthbert, by trade a bricklayer, born in Perth in Scotland, but came last from London in one Captain Grigg to Potowmack river, He is about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, about 22 years of age, wears his own hair of a dark brown colour, is a little pitted with the smallpox,

and, as he was some time in England, has not much of the Scoth accent. Had with him when he went away a blue coarse cloth coat, blue and red striped silk and cotton jacket, blue breeches, several white and check linen shirts, and many other articles of apparel. He carried with him his bricklayer's and plaistering tools, a sliding rule, some books of architecture and mensuration, etc. From the little time I have had him, he appeared a harmless inoffensive lad, entirely sober and obliging, and if he has gone off must have been advised to such a measure by some more designing than himself. It is probable he may make to the northward and so to Philadelphia, having been heard to speak of some acquaintances gone that way. Whoever takes up the said servant (if run away) and delivers him to the subscriber, shall have five pounds if taken within the colony, and ten pounds if taken at any considerable distance out of it, paid by WILLIAM BLACK.

N.B. All masters of vessels are desired to be cautious of not carrying such a person out of the country.

8 WAGE-EARNING SERVANTS AND ARTISANS IMPORTED UNDER CONTRACT

(a) Extract from a letter of Richard Cumberland, London, Oct. 17, 1767, to Roger Pinckney, at Charleston, S.C., in P. C. J. Weston's *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina* (London, 1856), 137.

My dear Sir: I write a few lines to you by a young man who has served me in the capacity of coachman for two years, and is now hired himself to Mr. Gibbs of our Province. I have promised the man, that, if he behaves well, you will, if occasion requires, protect him and allow him to lodge in your hands any little matter he may have ye good fortune to save. I am not in the least acquainted with Mr. Gibbs, so that I look upon it

as possible that he may need your countenance and assistance. He has stipulated to serve him for three years at ye rate of £40 Stg pr annum.

(b) Extract from a letter of William Fitzhugh, of Stafford County, Va., July 1, 1680, to Captain Frasier Partis, who was probably a skipper in the Virginia carrying trade. *Virginia Historical Register*, vol. i, 166.

I would have you be very careful of my flax, hemp and hay seed, two bushel of each of which I have sent for, because we now have resolved a cessation from making Tobo. next year. We are also going to make towns. If you can meet with any tradesmen that will come and live at the towns, they may have large privileges and communitys. I would have you bring me in a good Housewife. I do not intend or mean [her] to be brought in as the ordinary servants are; but to pay for her passage, and agree to give her Fifty Shillings or Three Pound a year during the space of five years; upon which terms I suppose good servants may be had, because they have their passage clear and as much wages as they can have there. I would have a good one or none. I look upon the generality of wenches you usually bring in not worth the keeping. I expect to hear from you by all conveniencys, for I assure you I let slip none to tell you I am, &c., &c.

I would have you bring me two large paper bookes; one to contain about fourteen or fifteen Quire of Paper; and another about ten Quire; and one other small one.

(c) Extract from a letter of George Mason, Gunston Hall, Va., Aug. 20, 1792, to his son. Rowland, K. M. *Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892), vol. ii, 359.

Dear John: About four or five years ago Mr. Henderson imported from Scotland, upon annual wages, two stonemasons, James Reid and Alexander Watson, very good workmen. Since the expiration of their con-

tract with Mr. Henderson they have been working in Dumfries and about that part of the country, and last year made some free stone chimney-pieces for Col. Cooke which I think are well done and upon reasonable terms, to the best of my recollection, a guinea each. Being desirous to get these men to make four free stone chimney-pieces for your brother Thomson's house, I sent down to Dumfries three or four days ago to get one of them to come up to take the dimensions of your brother Thomson's chimneys that they might immediately get the chimney-pieces, but was informed they are both at work at George Town, I suppose about the new bridge building over Rock Creek. I must therefore beg you will inquire them out, and see if you can get them to do your brother's chimney-pieces, as soon as the Rock Creek bridge is finished, which I am told will be by the last of this month, and that, in the meantime, the sooner the better, you will endeavor to get one of them to ride down to your brother Thomson's to take the dimensions of the four chimneys, for which he wants free stone chimney-pieces, and also of the fire place in his best room, and give directions for a marble chimney-piece to be sent for to England, unless one of those you have to dispose of will suit it, or can be made by them to do so, which you will know by getting the man to examine them after he returns from your brother's. If you can get one of these men to go down to your brother Thomson's you will be kind enough to let your man Lewis go down with him to show him the way, and you will hire a horse upon my account for the man to ride. I purpose that these men shall get the stone themselves for Thomson's chimney-pieces and hearth stones, either at Aquia or at the quarry near Dumfries, whichever they think the best stone, and I will carry them from thence to your brother Thomson's.

9 THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CRIMINALLY DISPOSED REDEMPTIONER

The Vain Prodigal Life, and Tragical Penitent Death of Thomas Hellier born at Whitchurch near Lyme in Dorset-shire: who for murdering his Master, Mistress, and a maid, was executed according to law at Westover in Charles City, in the country of Virginia, near the Plantation called Hard Labour, where he perpetrated the said murders. He suffer'd on Monday the 5th of August, 1678. And was after hanged up in chains at Windmill Point on James River . . . (London, 1680).

I, Thomas Hellier (age now some 28 years or thereabouts) was born at Whitchurch neer Lime in Dorsetshire; Son to J. H. of Parrocks. I liv'd with my own Parents till I was ten years old, about which time my Grandfather Thomas Turner of Marshwood took me home to him, and setting me to School, bred me up till fifteen or sixteen years of age; who loved and tender'd me very indulgently. About the age of sixteen I was bound as Apprentice to one Jo. Sprake of Lime, by Profession a Barber-chirurgeon, for seven years; from whose Son I also learned, by my own industry, the Trade of a Stationer. After I had serv'd six years almost, my Master died; during which term, I had plaid some frolickish youthful Pranks, which were mildly conniv'd and winked at, through the gentleness of indulgent Relations; which yet I had not the grace to make a good use of.

After my Masters death, (not being bound to any but my Master onely) I sued out my indenture, and so gained my Freedom before six years were fully expired.

A while after I was got free from my Master's Widow, my Grandfather dying, left me fifty acres of good Land purchased for three Lives; the other two were dead, and onely my own Life then remaining in in the said fifty acres of Land: which Estate I lived on

some half a year a single man; then I married one Hester Bensloe, daughter to a good sufficient Farmer, who enjoyed fifty pounds per annum of Prebends Land. After which I liv'd with my said Wife on the forementioned Estate the space of one year, till she brought me forth a Daughter, by name Hester Hellier.

My own and Wife's Friends both loved me very well, and would have done very well for me, had I not taken bad courses; but I could not contain my self within the due bounds of Sobriety and Moderation.

About this time (in the year 1673 or 74, neer Michaelmas) I choused my Father of twelve pounds Sterl. which he had entrusted me to receive for him, he being then Collector of the Royal Aid money: After the receipt of which money, I taking horse, rode away to London (unknown to Father, Wife, or any other Relations, who all that while knew not what was become of me.) In London I ranted out my twelve pounds in Company-keeping. And now I lived but too much at ease, I knew not when I was well; I was all on fire to set up in the world, to make a bustle abroad to and fro, and be doing, that I might seem somebody. I would therefore needs, all on the spirit, set up my own Trade, and that too of a Stationer; to which intent I took up on Credit, to the value of some twenty four pounds in Books of one person, which were never to this day paid for. I did the like by others, to a considerable value; none whereof (I do confess) were yet ever paid for. . .

Now it was high Noon, I thought it would never be Night with me; I seem'd to have the World in a string, and thought I could hale it which way I listed at my pleasure: but soft my haste; for before two years were fully expir'd, after my seating at Crewkerne, (what by keeping high Company, what by Gaming) I had on

a sudden run my self very deep into debt. But still I bore my head aloft above water with courage, making a plausible shew in the eye of the vulgar. One ruinous humor I confess my self very vaingloriously guilty of: I ever too much affected foolishly to be admir'd and applauded; wherefore if six or eight Pot-companions had sate tipling with me, had they but bestowed their Compliments liberally upon me, let such flatterers drink night and day, there was nothing for any of them to pay. . .

I . . . took my Horse and ten pounds in my pocket, and tripped up to London, resolving there to seek my fortune. Where, though I might have turn'd my self to several Employments, having skill in Painting and mixing of Colours; judgment to eat any Letters, Knots, or Devices in Mettals by Chemical waters; a dexterous hand at Ingraving in Mettals and Carving in Wood, with several other ingenious and commendable Mysteries. Yet, here was I so fatally besotted to my own Overthrow, that I could fancie nothing but a Voyage to Sea.

Whereupon, after much fruitless rambling to and fro, I met with a German, one Captain Prison, who had a Privateer-Ship, and a French Commission about the beginning of June 77. I went on board the said Ship, designing to sail in her under the capacity of a Sea-Chirurgeon. The said Captain was to furnish forth my Chest with all sorts of Drugs and Medicaments: but the Captain being sentenced by the Admiralty-Court for a Pyrate, and doom'd to pay (as I understood) 1000 l. before he could get free. Money falling short, he could not set me forth nor furnish my Chest. Whereupon I left his Ship, and to shore I went in August 77, having just one poor sixpence in my pocket.

Thus had I trifled away and mis-spent my ten pounds and the price of my horse. Next, to supply necessity, I sold my Cloaths for want of money: so walking up Tower-ditch, I going in at the Eagle and Childe, enquired if there were any Ship-Captain quartered there? one replied, There was no Ship-Captain quartered in that house, but that he himself was concern'd about Seafaring matters. I enquired to what parts he was concern'd? he answered, To Virginia: So asked withal, if I were minded for that Country; if I were, I should have Meat, Drink, and Apparel, with other Necessaries provided for me. I replied, I had heard so bad a character of that Country, that I dreaded going thither, in regard I abhorred the Ax and the Haw. He told me, he would promise I should onely be employ'd in Merchants Accompts, and such Employments to which I had been bred, if they were here used.

On August the 10th, 77, I being over-perswaded, went on board the Young Princes Captain Robert Morris Commander; on the 5th of September ditto, the Young Prince weighed Anchor from the Downs; and on the 25th of October following, she arrived within the Capes of Virginia, and dropt Anchor at Newpersnews.

I was delivered into the custody and dispose of one Lewis Connor of Barmedoe hundred Virginia, who sold me off to one Cutbeard Williamson, living at a Plantation call'd Hard Labour, belonging to Westover-Parish in Charles City County Virginia: which said Williamson promised me I should be employed in Teaching his Children, and not be set to any laborious work, unless necessity did compel now and then, meerly for a short spurt. But nevertheless, though I wanted not for Cloaths nor Victuals, yet I found their dealings con-

trary to their fair promises; which much disheartened me. And though my labour at the Howe was very irksome, and I was however resolved to do my utmost endeavour at it; yet that which embittered my life, and made everything I took in hand burdensome to me, was the unworthy ill-usage which I received daily and hourly from my ill-tongued Mistriss; who would not only rail, swear and curse at me within doors, whenever I came into the house casting on me continually biting Taunts and bitter Flouts; but like a live Ghost would impertinently haunt me, when I was quiet in the Ground at work. And although I silently wrought as fast as she rail'd, plying my labour, without so much as muttering at her, or answering any thing good or bad; yet all the silence and observance that I could use, would not charm her vile tongue. These things burning and broyling in my Breast, tempted me to take the trip, and give my master the bag to hold; thereupon I vamped off, and got on board Capt. Larimore's ship, where I remained eleven days, or thereabouts, the Ship then riding at Warwicks-Creek Bay.

I was absent from my Master's business almost three weeks, but at length my Master hunting about, and searching to and fro, had discovered where I was, and so sending a Messenger, fetched me back home again. As I was upon my return homeward, I had a design to have knock the Messenger on the head; for which purpose I took up a great stone and carried it along in my hand a good way, unknown to the man: but my heart failing me, I let drop that design. At length home I came, begg'd pardon of my Master for my fault, and all seemed pretty well again. But my usage proving still worse than before, my Mistress ever taunting me with her odious and inveterate Tongue, do all I

would, and strive all the ways whatever I could, she, I found, was no whit pacified toward me. Whereupon I began to cast about and bethink my self, which way to rid me of that Hell upon Earth, yet still seeking if possible to weather it, but all in vain.

At last, Satan taking advantage of my secret inward regret, suggested to my vicious corrupt minde, that by ridding my Master and Mistress out of the way, I might with ease gain my Freedom, after which time I sought all opportunities to effectuate and bring to pass my said horrid contrivance: Concluding, when they were dead, I should be a Freeman. Which said execrable Project I attempted and put in execution May 24, 1678. Thus. . .

Betimes in the Morning before day, I put on my best cloaths, then got my Ax, and attempted two or three times to enter my Master's Lodging-room, still my heart failing me, I stept back again; but however at length in I rushed: A Servant-maid, who lay every night in the same Room, passed along by me the same time with her bed on her shoulder, or under her arm, to whom I offer'd no violence, but let her pass untouched; nor had I meddled with her, had she kept out of my way. From her I passed on to my Masters Bed, and struck at him with the Ax, and gave him several blows, as near as I could guess, upon the Head: I do believe I had so unhappy an aim with my hand, that I mortally wounded him the first blow. My Mistress in the interim got out of Bed, and got hold of a Chair, thinking to defend her self; and when I came toward her, struggled, but I proved to hard for her; She begg'd me to save her Life, and I might take what I would, and go my way. But all in vain, nothing would satisfie but her Life, whom I looked on as my greatest Enemy; so down she went

without Mercy. The Wench to whom I intended no hurt, returned, as I suppose to rescue her Mistress; whereupon she suffer'd the same cruel Fate with the other two.

After this Tragedy I broke open a Clorset, and took provision for my Journey, and rummaging my Mistress Chest, I took what I thought fit, as much as loaded a good lusty Horse; So taking my Master's Gun in my hand, away I hastened: But while the Horse stood without door, a neighbor came to the house, with an excuse to borrow the said Horse. To whom I frowning, answered very roughly, and threatening him, bid him be gone, he could not have the Horse; who departed, and (I suppose) betrayed to the other Neighbours some jealousie he had conceived, concerning some Mischief I had been doing. A Childe also belonging to the Family was run forth to betray the business. But before any body came, I was gone upon my intended progress with my Master's Horse loaded, and his gun in my hand.

After wandering the unknown Woods a tedious time, to and fro, and finding no path, I struck up towards a Plantation belonging to one Gilly, near Chickahommony Swamp, where I had a Ship-mate living; here I found a Path, and following that Path, it led me up to the house, where finding my Ship-mate, I enquir'd the nearest way to the Falls of James River: Who told me, he knew not the way, but said, he would go and enquire; so he called his Master's Son, who asked, if I would not walk into the house, and eat before I went. I said it was too early for me to eat: The said Gilly's Son-in-law came forth also, and very urgent they were to have me walk in and smoke Tobacco, seeing I would not eat. I told them, I would not smoke, but desired

them to direct me my way, (still keeping my Gun in my hand, I being as shie of them, as they were watchful over me.) At last they told me, they would shew me the way; one walking before me, and the other following me, who led me to a Passage over a Water: where before I passed over, I had some occasion to lay my Gun out of my hand: Whereupon one laying hold of the Gun, said, This is a compleat Gun, and withal fired it off: Whereupon I discern'd my self surprised.

They told me I was to go no farther: So they seising me, I struggled a while, and had like to have been too hard for one of the men. But Gilly himself hearing the report of the Gun, run down toward the place; so being overpower'd, I was forced to submit to have my hands bound. Upon this seisure I was struck with silence, not having power either to confess or deny the Fact. They forthwith brought me before Mr. John Stith, the next Justice of Peace; This happened May 25, 1678. I had no power to answer the Justice to any thing, only I begg'd that I might have a Minster sent for to me, and then I should relate the whole matter. One Mr. Williams was sent to me the next morning (being Saturday) to whom I acknowledged the whole matter. After conference with the said Minister, I began by degrees to be rendred sensible of the heinousness of my horrid and bloudy Crime; for which I was Tryed at James-Town, July 26, 1678. And was Sentenced to be Hang'd in Chains the 27, ditto; according to which just Sentence, I am now deservedly to suffer here this instant 5th of August, 1678.

Whereas some have reported me formerly an Highway-man, and that I was transported from England hither as a Malefactor; I do here now declare to the world, that I never abused any person on any account on

the Road in England, in all my Life-time (except one pitiful Begger.) For, as I rode one day along the Road, a Begger by the Way-side importuned me earnestly, that I would give him something. I had then been on the ramble, having spent all my Money to eighteen Pence, and had sixty Miles father to ride. Whereupon I bethought my self how to supply my present penury out of that Beggers Purse, whom I judged to be far better in stock than my self. I therefore told the man, I had no Money about me less than Half a Crown, requiring him to give me seven Groats, and I would give him two Pence out of the Half-Crown. The Begger streight pull'd out a quantity of small Money, and laid it into my hand; I griping my said hand, put the Money into my pocket. The Begger re-demanded his Money; I told him, I had little Money, and a great way to ride; but he could beg for more Money, I could not; so I rode away with the poor man's Money. Besides this Cheat, I was never guilty of any thing, which might incur the censure of the Law, in England, except my Debts so unadvisedly contracted.

This fore-recited Relation, after I had penned it from his own Mouth, I red the same over to him, because I had not related it (ipsius atque totidem verbis) just in the very same numerical words wherein he made his Confession to me. After he had heard the same read over, he acknowledged this to be the true sense of his own Intentions, and the very same which he desired might be published to the world. So I promised him I would take so much care, as to have it transported for England. . .

10 CAREER AND OBSERVATIONS OF A HIGH GRADE REDEMPTIONER

Extracts from the "Diary of John Harrower, 1773-1776." *American Historical Review*, vol. vi, 72-106, *passim*.

Wednesday, 26th. [Jan. 1774.] This day I being reduced to the last shilling I hade was obliged to engage to go to Virginia for four years as a schoolmaster for Bedd, Board, washing and five pound during the whole time. I have also wrote my wife this day a particular Acco[t] of everything that has happened to me since I left her until this date; At 3 pm this day I went on board the Snow Planter Cap[t] Bowers Com[r] for Virginia now lying at Ratliff Cross, and imediately as I came Onb[d] I rec[d] my Hammock and Bedding. . .

Saturday, 29th. This day came on b[d] Alex[r] Kennedy a young man from Edinb[r] who hade been a Master Cooper there and a Glasgow Man by trade a Barber both which we took into our Mace, [mess] which compleated it being five Scotsmen and one Yorkshireman, and was always called the Scots mace. . .

Munday 31st. . . It is surprising to see the N° of good trades men of all kinds, th[t] come on b[d] every day.

Sunday, [Feb.] 6th. At 7 AM got under way with a fair wind and clear w[r] and at 11 AM came to an Anchor off Gravesend and immediately the Merch[t] came onboard and a Doctor and clerk with him and while the Clerk was filling up the Indentures the doctor search'd every serv[t] to see that they were sound. . . seventy five were Intend [indented] to Cap[t] Bowres for four Years.

Munday, 7th. This forenoon imployed in getting in provisions and water. at 4 pm put a servant ashore extreamly bade in a fever, and then got under saile for Virginia with seventy Servants on board all indented to

serve four years there at their differint Occoupations myself being one of the Number and Indented for a Clerk and Bookkeeper, But when I arrived there I cou'd get no such birth as will appear in the place. . . [the items omitted describe the vicissitudes of the voyage to Chesapeake Bay].

Thursday, [April] 28th. At 7 AM the Pillot wegh'd Anchor and wrought the ship up to Hampton Roads where we came to an Anchor at 10 AM. This morning I was employ'd in Making out a Clean list of the servants names and Business and age, and how soon I was done Cap^{t} Bowers went ashore in the Pillot boat to Hamton on Elizabeth river. We have some goods to put out before we leave this place. at night, a deal of Thunder, lightning and rain.

Monday, May 2d. Wind as before, fine fair warm weather. got out the rest of the goods that was for Hampton. at 2 pm the Cap^{t} Carried five serv^{ts} ashore to Hampton in order to sell their Indentures, But returned again at Midnight with[out] selling any more but one Boat Builder, he brought onb^{d} with him four Barrells Virginia Pork and one Puncheon D^{o} rum, and 3 live hogs.

Tuesday, 3d. Wind at W.N.W. fine moderate weather. at 6 AM weigh'd Anchor from Hampton Roads, and stood out to sea until we made the Entry of Rappahannock river, which we did at 10 AM, proceeding up the same for Fredericksburgh, at 6 pm came to an Anchor at Arrabanna.

Freiday, 6th. Wind as before. at 4 AM got under saile and stood up the river and at 9 AM passed by the town of Hobshole and let it on our Larboard hand as we did the Town of Arrabanna. at Hobshole there was five Glasgow ships and an English Brigantine lying at

2 pm we passed by Leedstown on our Starboard hand where there was a ship from London lying with convicts. at night came to another about 6 Miles above Leedstown. . .

Tuesday, 10th. At 2 AM weigh'd and stood up with the tide, came to an anchor at 6 AM and lay untill D° 8 when we weigh'd with a fair wind and got to our Moorings at 6 pm at the Toun of Fredericksburgh.

Wednesday, 11th. At 10 AM Both Coopers and the Barber from our Mace went ashore upon tryall. At night one Daniel Turner a serv^{t} returned onb^{d} from Liberty so drunk that he abused the Cap^{t} and Chief Mate and Boatswan to a verry high degree, which made to be horse whip^{t}, put in Irons and thumb screwed. on houre afterward he was unthumbscrewed, taken out of the Irons, but then he was hand cuffed, and gagged all night.

Thursday, 12th. All hands quite [quiet] on board this day. Turner ungagged But continoued in handcuffs. . .

Munday, 16th. This day severalls came onb^{d} to purchase serv^{ts} Indentures and among them there was two Soul drivers. they are men who make it their business to go onb^{d} all ships who have in either Servants or Convicts and buy sometimes the whole and sometimes a parcell of them as they can agree, and then they drive them through the Country like a parcell of Sheep untill they can sell them to advantage, but all went away without buying any. . .

Munday 23d. This morning a great number of Gentlemen and Ladies driving into Town it being an annuall Fair day and tomorrow the day of the Horse races. at 11 AM M^{r} Anderson begged to settle as a schoolmaster with a friend of his one Colonel Daingerfield and told me he was to be in town tomorrow, or

perhaps to-night, and how soon he came he shou'd aquant me. at same time all the rest of the servants were ordered ashore to a tent at Fredericksb[g] and severall of their Indentures were then sold. about 4 pm I was brought to Colonel Daingerfield, when we imediatly agreed and my Indenture for four years was then delivered him and he was to send for me the next day. at same time ordred to get all my dirty Cloaths of every kind washed at his expense in Toun; at night he sent me five shillings onb[d] by Cap[t] Bowers to keep my pocket. . .

Thursday 26th. This day at noon the Colonel sent a Black with a cuple of horses for me and soon after I set out on Horseback and aravied at his seat of Belvidera about 3 pm and after I hade dined the Colonel took me to a neat little house at the upper end of an Avenue of planting at 500 yd[s] from the Main house, where I was to keep the school, and Lodge myself in it.

This place is verry pleasantly situated on the Banks of the river Rappahannock about seven miles below the Toun of Fredericksburgh and the school's right above the Warff so that I can stand in the door and pitch a stone onboard of any ship or Boat going up or coming doun the river.

Freiday, 27th. This morning about 8 AM the Colonel delivered his three Sons to my Charge to teach them to read, write and figure. his oldest son Edwin 10 years of age, intred into two syllables in the spelling book, Bathourest his second son six years of age in the Alphabete and William his third son 4 years of age does not know the letters. he has likewise a Daughter whose name is Hanna Basset Years of age. . . My school Houres is from 6 to 8 in the morning, in the forenoon from 9 to 12, and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon. . .

Tuesday, [June] 14th. This morning entred to school William Pattie son of John Pattie wright, and Salley Evens daughter to Thomas Evens Planter. This day I wrote my wife a particular Acco^{t} of all my transactions since I wrote her from London 26th Jan^{y} last, the Coppy of which I have by me. . .

Freiday, 17th. This day rec^{d} two pair new Rushia drill britches and two new Coats of Brown Holland.

Munday, 20th. This morning entred to school Philip and Dorothea Edge's Children of M^{r} Benjamin Edge Planter. Same day Colonel Dangerfield began to cut down his wheat, which they do with a syth.

Tuesday, 21st. This day M^{r} Samuel Edge Planter came to me and begged me to take a son of his to school who was both deaf and dum, and I consented to try what I cou'd do with him. . .

Tuesday, August 16th. Expecting a visit of one M^{r} Kennedy an Edinburgher, a Cooper now in Fredericksburgh, I this day sent to Toun for a Quart of the best Vestindia Rum which cost me Eighteen pence Virginia Currancy. . .

Sunday, [December] 25th. Christmas day, stayed at home all day along w^{t} the Overseer and Childreen because I hade no saddle to go to the Church with. In the morning the Col^{l} Ordred up to school two Bottles of the best Rum and some suggar for me.

Munday, 26th. This forenoon the Col^{l} wou'd have me to take his saddle and ride to Toun and Amuse myself, and when I was going gave me Six Shillings for pocket money. I went to Toun and Dined in a private house and after buying 1½ Doz^{n} Mother of Pearle buttons for my white morsyld Vest I return'd home in the evening. . .

Freiday, 30th. This day there was severall Gentlemen from Fredericksburgh here at Dinner with whom I dined.

Munday, 17th [April, 1775]. At 8 AM I rode to Town in order to see the boys and Amuse myself fore some hours. On my Aravel in Town the first thing I got to do was to dictate and write a love letter from M^r^ Anderson, to one Peggie Dewar at the Howse of M^r^ John Mitchel at the Wilderness. After that I went to M^r^ John Glassell's store to enquire for letters from home but found none; here I mett with the Col^l^ who gave me two pair brown thread stockins for my summer wear. At 2 pm I dined with him in M^r^ Porter's, and soon after Returned home.

Thursday, 20th. This morning all the boys came to school again at their Usual hour. On tuesday last was missed out of the pasture a breeding mare. search being made for her by the Overseer he found this afternoon the Neiger fellow who hade rode her off and after riding her about 24 Miles from the Plantation turned her loose in the high road. he is a Blacksmith by trade and belongs to and works at a Plantation of M^r^ Corbins, and after he had confessed the fact M^r^ Frazer ower Overseer stript him to the [skin] and gave him 39 laches with Hickry switches that being the highest the Law allows at one Wheeping. . .

Tuesday, 23d. [April, 1776]. At noon rode to Town, got the Newspapers and settled with M^r^ Porter for teaching his two sons 12 M^os^ when he verry genteely allowed me £6 for them, besides a present of two silk vests and two pair of Nankeen Breeches last summer and a Gallon of rum at Christenmass, both he and M^rs^ Porter being extreamly well satisfied with what I hade don to them.

11 CONVICT TRANSPORTATION, VICISSITUDES

Boston *Chronicle*, March 14 to 21, 1768. News item from Antigua.

Antigua, January 25. Last week arrived here the Snow Rodney, Nicholas Pirdy, from London, for Mayland with convicts; we have received an extract from the Ship's log-book, which we insert that the public may be acquainted with hardships these poor wretches sustained during their terrible voyage.

September 27. came thro' the Downs. Octo. 5 came too on the mother bank after beating &c. 7th. discovered a scheme of the convicts to take away the ship – 10th. set sail with clear weather and steady breeze; wind N. by E. – Nov. 4th. Boatswain took to his bed; the 16th. returned – Dec. 12th. convicts wet – 14th, 15th, 16th. no observation; cloudy weather, a very heavy gale on the 15th. with thunder and lightning; the Ship labouring very much. and makes a great deal of water – 26th. found the bolts of the standards between decks broke by yesterday's gale, so that they are of no service to the ship, which opens fore and aft, and leaks much – 27th. more water 28th. a great deal of water – 29th. a very heavy gale of wind and high sea; a stroke of the sea on the starboard quarter, broke the tiller short off in the rudder head; pump every half hour, nailed canvass over the bows and the seams of the forecastle – 30th. obliged to make some of the convicts assist in working and pumping the ship; every thing in a bad situation; only 30 pieces of beef, 26 pieces of pork, and 700 lb. of bread, for 105 people and no probability of getting into Virginia – 31st. the people wrote to the Captain desiring to know what he intended to do with the ship in that situation, expecting every minute to founder; and the convicts almost starved for want of food, and almost drowned with the water between decks; only two bis-

cuits a day. – At seven A.M. the ship received so severe a shock from a stroke of the sea, that it was necessary to keep one pump continually going; at eight, not being able to lay to any longer, was obliged to bear away to the southward, hoping to get into South Carolina, lat. 35. 36. long. 72. 27. W. – Jan. 1st. John Jay, convict, died. – 2nd. being near the lat. of Carolina, and by account 10 degrees to the Eastward of it in a heavy gale of wind, and having only 24 pieces of beef, 22 pieces of pork, and 600 weight of bread, to feed 104 people, bore away for Antigua, the vessel being much wrecked in hull and rigging, and, it being impossible to get into any port on the continent, 4 P.M. found four of the fore-shrouds broke; Richard Owen, convict, died – 3d. convicts in a very poor condition, very low and many sick – 5th. in lat. 31. long. 65. 57. contrary winds; provisions almost expended, convicts only three ounces of bread a day and so great was their distress that they eat the very vermin which they picked off of themselves. The ship's company, upon whose lives depended the welfare of the whole, fared but little better; their 24 hours allowance being insufficient for one man's meal – 7th. examined the convicts, their condition truly miserable; full of sores and ulcers, very low, and have lain for three weeks absolutely in water, the vessel being almost tore to pieces by the many severe storms she encountered. 10th. 14th. and 17th. William Smith, Joseph Green, Joseph James, William Stude, and John Cole, convicts, died – 20th. having no provisions of any kind to issue to the poor unhappy creatures, the company and myself, I opened a cake of cheese containing 100 lb. consigned to Charles Carroll, Esq: the poor wretches having long ago eat their leather breeches, and every shoe they found in the vessel – At noon saw Antigua, distant 7 leagues.

12 ITEMS ON THE TRADE IN SERVANTS

(a) Extract of a letter from William Byrd, James River, Virginia, Nov. 10, 1739, to Mr. Andrews of Rotterdam. *American Historical Review*, vol. i, 90.

I know not how long the Palatines are sold for, who do not Pay Passage to Phyladelphia, but here they are sold for Four years and fetch from 6 to 9 Pounds and perhaps good Tradesmen may go for Ten. If these Prices would answer, I am pretty Confident I could dispose of two Shipsload every year in this River: and I myself would undertake it for Eight [per] cent on the Sales, and make you as few bad Debts as possible. This is the Allowance Our Negro Sellers have, which sell for more than Double these People will, and consequently afford twice the Profet.

(b) Extract of a letter from John Brown (presumably from Augusta County in the Shenandoah Valley), Aug. 22, 1774, to William Preston. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper collection, series QQ, vol. iii, 81. Brown lived at Providence, near Staunton, Virginia.

Some time ago you told me that you intended to enter the servant tread [trade], and desire me to tell if there was any encouragement our way for the sale of them, I think there is none, for these reasons 1. the scarcity of money 2. servants are plenty and everyone has as many as they want besides the country is sunk in debt by them already.

(c) Knoxville (Tennessee) *Register*, Dec. 8, 1818. Advertisement.

GERMAN REDEMPTIONER. 20 DOLLARS REWARD WILL be given for apprehending and securing JOHN ADAM WOLF.

In any jail, in the United States; he is a German lad, about 17 years old, but would be considered small of his age by Americans: he is a taylor by trade, had a blue

roundabout made in the German fashion with buttons behind: grey mixed pantaloons, vest not recollected; Blue eyes auburn hair, speaks very little English, and has two scars or marks under the chin, that have the appearance of soreness, and are supposed to have been occassioned by the itch; he however keeps them concealed by wearing his neck handkerchief very high – he was in company with a number of his countrymen on their way to the Alabama Territory, when he absconded, on the 16th. inst, about 20 miles east of this place.

Any person apprehending the above lad will please give information of the same to David Keller Esq. of this place and to the subscriber near Florence, Alabama Territory. F. C. CLOPPER.

SEP 83
N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962